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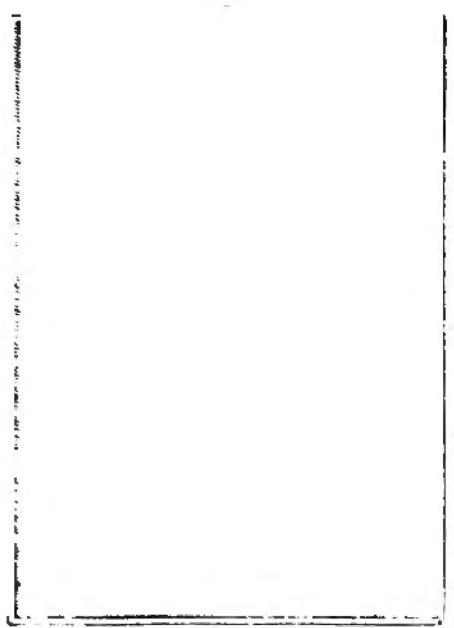
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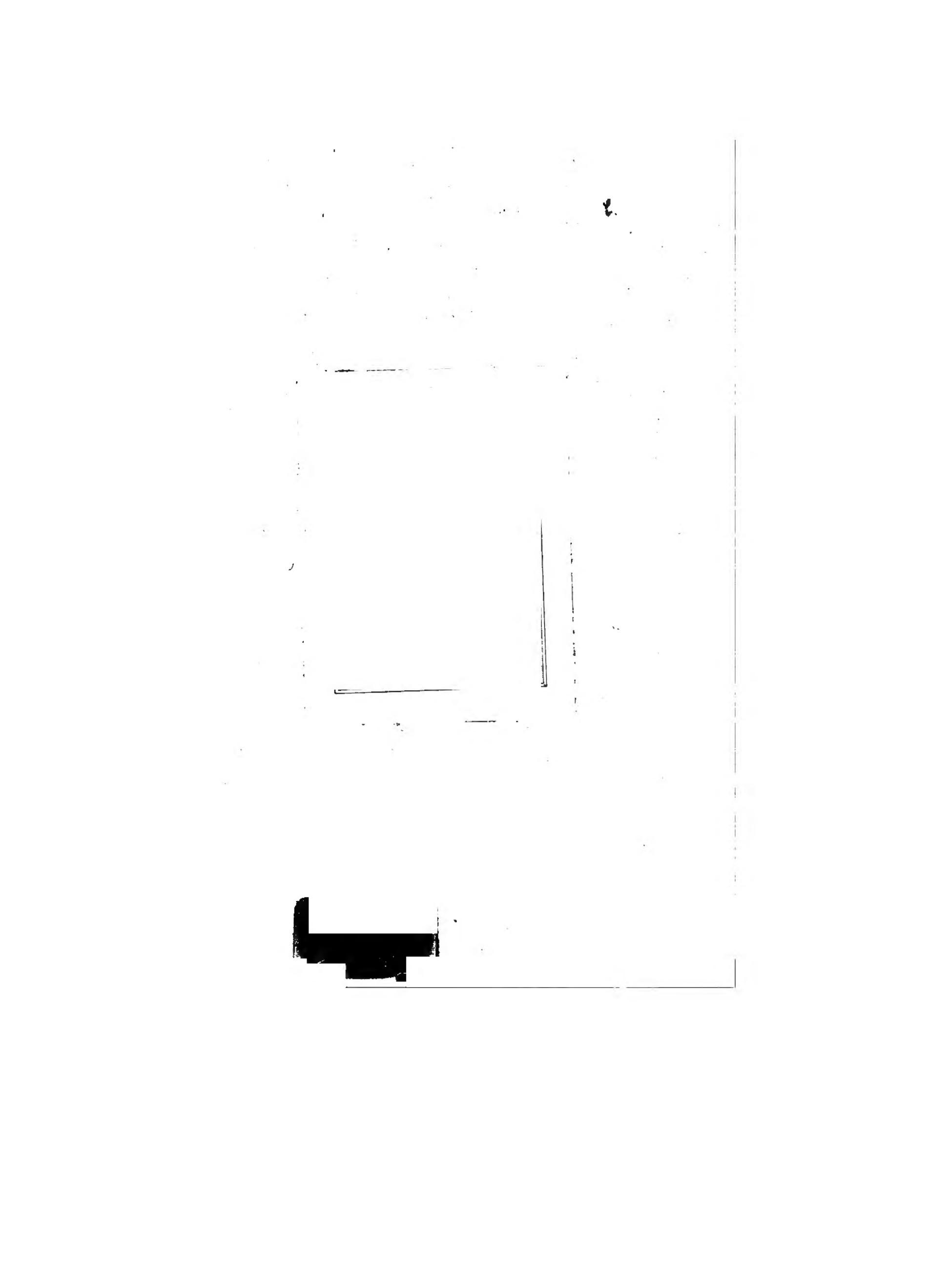
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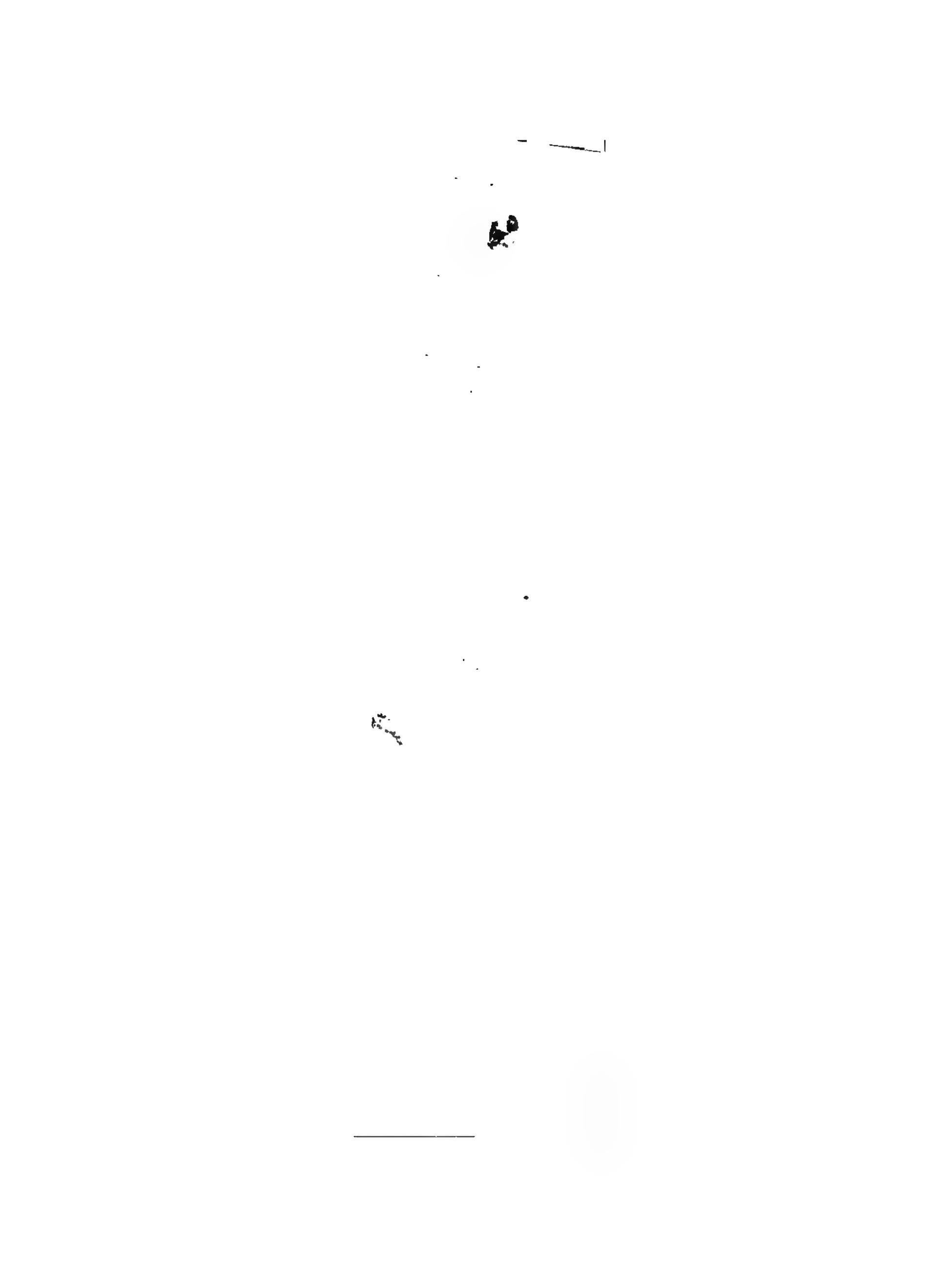


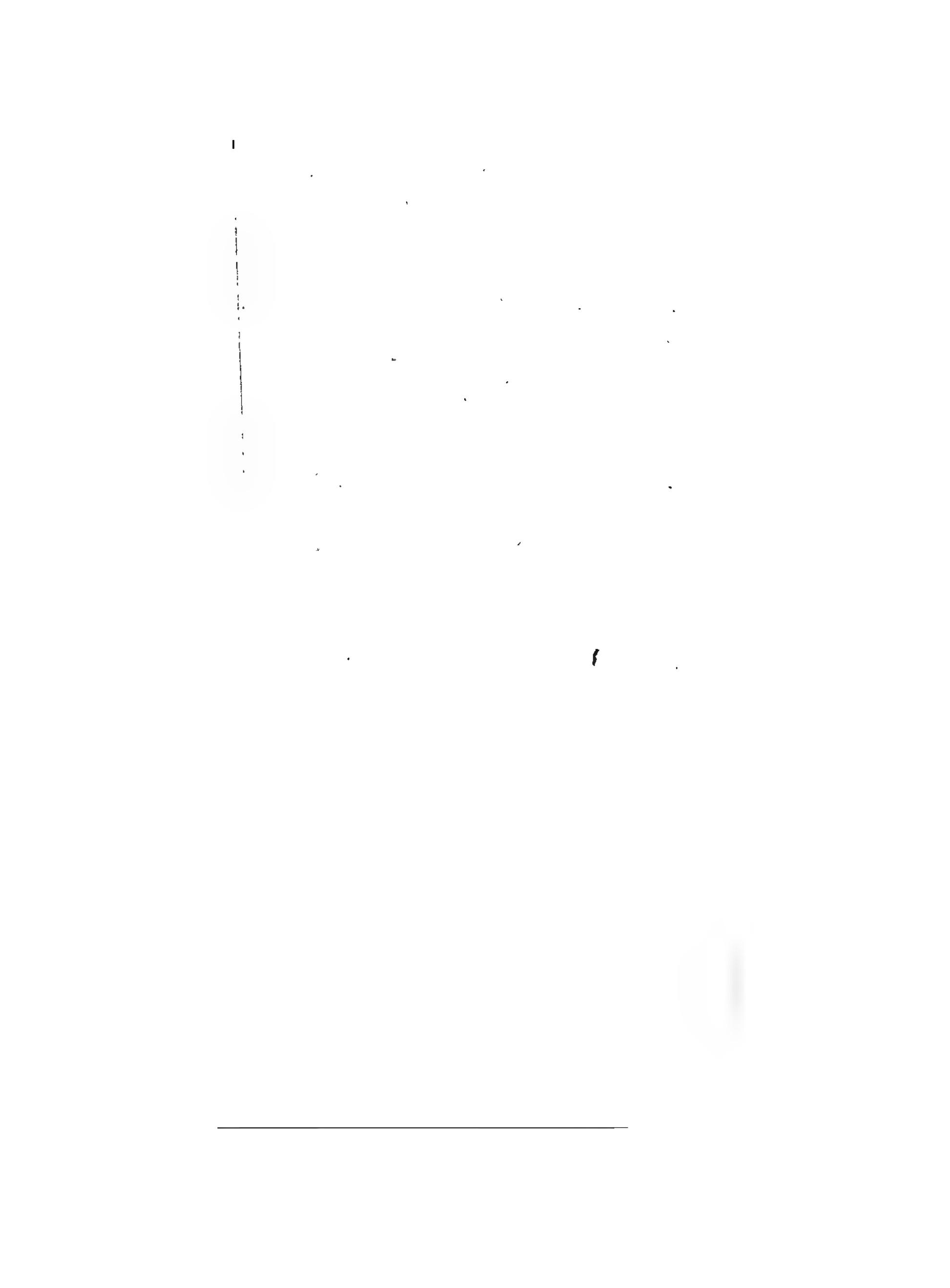


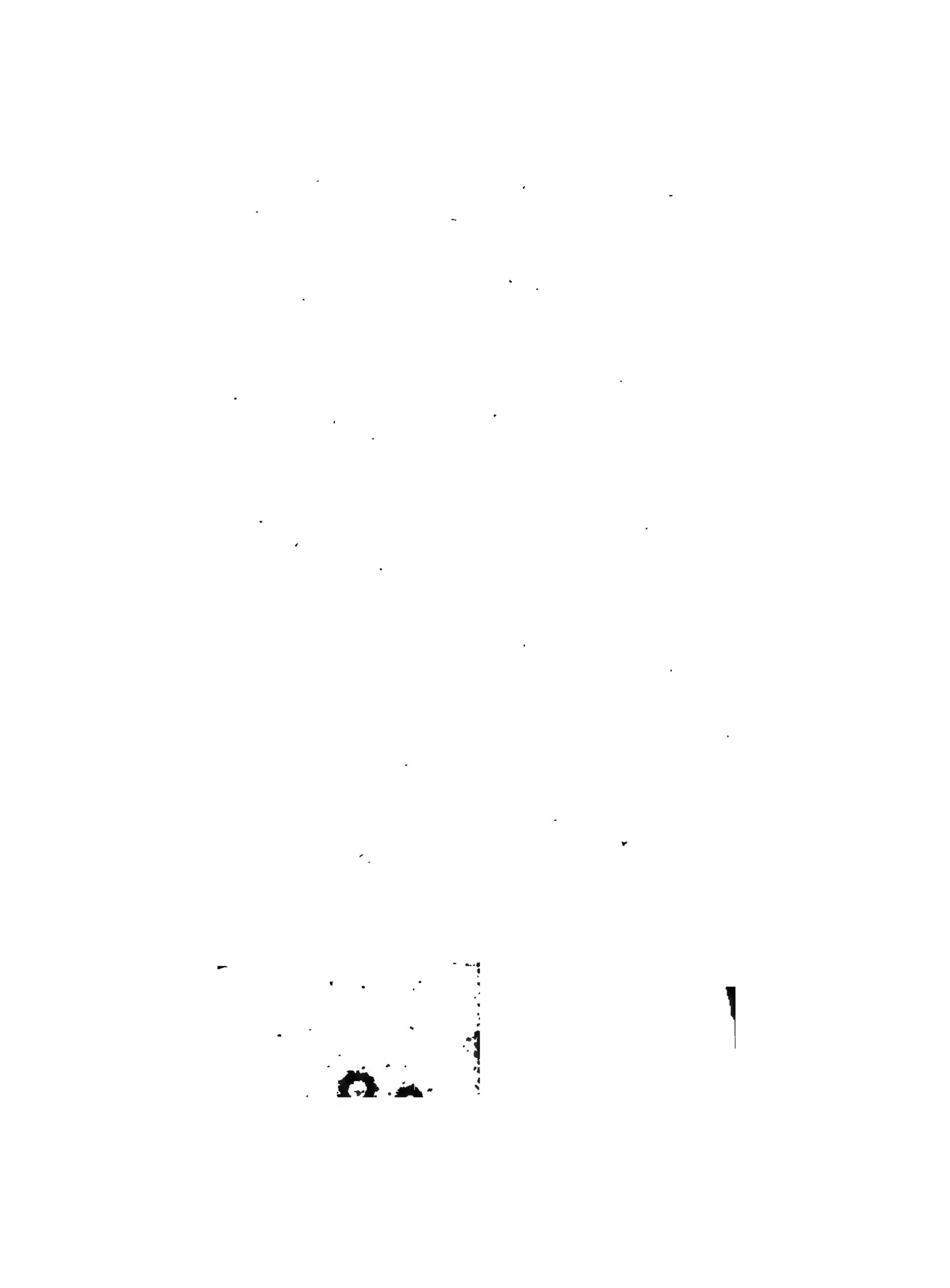
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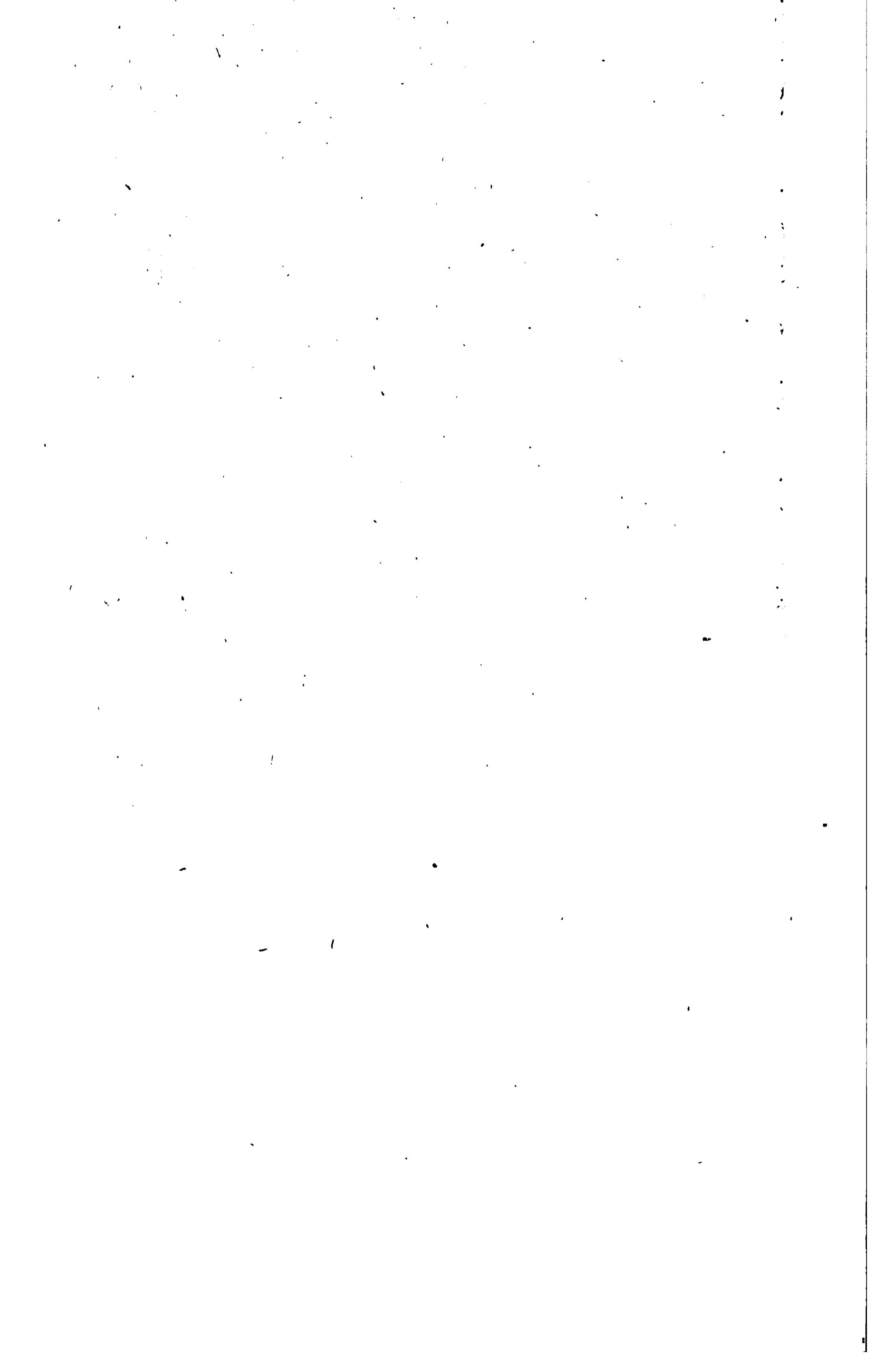












THE JOURNAL OF RACE DEVELOPMENT

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Brazza ascended the Ogowe River, making treaties with the chiefs and starting the foundation of the French Congo. This was the initiation of the partition of tropical Africa among the colonial powers of Europe. To this appropriation of the greater part of the second largest continent was given some semblance of formality by over 2,000 treaties to which the marks of as many important chiefs were affixed.

Each of five densely peopled and prosperous countries of Europe eagerly sought all it could get of these new lands.² Each wanted colonies (1) as sources of supply of foodstuffs and of raw materials for the industrial enterprises of the mother land; (2) as reliable, oversea markets for home manufactures; (3) as possible, ultimate areas of settlement for superfluity of the home population. We know to-day that, in the first two respects, the acquirement of tropical African colonies by European powers will be a most profitable investment; and that the third ambition, to secure lands where many of the home people may begin life anew under the flag of their fathers, will be realized to a small extent.

The evidence is now ample to justify these great enterprises in Africa. Germany has observed that the total export and import trade of her once decried colony of German East Africa with about 10,000,000 population amounted, in 1908, to \$10,000,000; and that in the same year, the value of her total trade relations with China, with over 300,000,000 population, was also \$10,000,000. We may safely say that, on the whole, the desirable results, both material and humanitarian, of this mighty colonial movement, in the first thirty years of its existence, have far surpassed expectations; that tropical Africa seems destined permanently to contribute far more to the wealth of the world than, in our ignorance, we dared to expect; that the good in African peoples which Livingstone claimed for them, exists and is being developed; and that the vast white spaces on the maps of a generation ago, are found to be filled with potentialities that will give wide influence, a great future to tropical Africa.

²Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy.

The seven colonial powers in tropical Africa finally found themselves in possession of about 7,088,000 square miles of territory, an area more than twice as large as that of the United States. Scarcely a square mile had been surveyed. There were no maps to give intelligent direction to effort. Almost nothing was known of the climatic variations over this vast expanse, of the hydrographic régime, of the distribution of forests, grazing lands, minerals and other resources. Could the whites so far master problems of tropical hygiene that they might sojourn there in a fair state of strength? Would the natives work for them? Hundreds of questions such as these were constantly arising and they had to be answered. There could be little economic development unless they were answered. The attempt will be made here to show some of the facilities which the whites are providing for their work, the partial solution of their problems, and the material progress now manifest as the result of long experience and study.

Exploration, in detail, has made wonderful progress, but its completion, in so vast an area, will require many future decades. By the collaboration of many hundreds of officials and specially detailed or independent observers, a good working knowledge, however, has been obtained of large and very numerous districts which are most conveniently situated for early development. Some of these districts embrace the most of whole colonies or protectorates as Togo, Sierra Leone, and French West Africa; but we should add that in each of these districts there may be large areas, of forests, for example, that have not yet been explored.

These studies, on the whole, cover the ground that should always be covered by those who come after the pioneer explorer; in other words, a large proportion of the published results are the work of expert investigators, put in the field by governments or societies who require reliable data. The topics treated embrace all phases of tropical Africa that are of special interest now, in the work of development, including tropical hygiene. A considerable number of monographs and books which embody the essence of all that has been learned in one or another field of study are constantly appear-

ing. As an illustration, we may cite the Austrian botanist-Franz Thonner, who has published a work of 673 pages and 150 plates describing all the species of flowering plants that are now known in Africa and its islands. Of course, the great variety and the volume of carefully collected information, now in print, is invaluable for the manifold enterprises under development.

It may be very trite to say that "Maps are a short cut to geographical knowledge;" but, in our country, where there is little general appreciation of the great helpfulness of good maps, the idea seems to require iteration. The leaders in the movement to transform tropical Africa realized that it would be worth all it might cost to produce good maps of the new possessions. The result is that, for more than a quarter of a century there has been incessant pushing of surveys and map-making; so that, to-day, we may get a good idea, from maps, of the distribution of the natural and cultural features of tropical Africa including, on many maps of fairly large scale, a great deal of detailed information. Of course, these maps are not all of equal value; many of them are based merely upon reconnaissance surveys; but fortunately, so many astronomical points have now been fixed throughout tropical Africa that it is very often convenient to tie to them surveys of all kinds for map-making purposes. Most of the frontiers of the African colonies have now been surveyed and delimited which is very helpful to other mapping because they supply so many fixed points of latitude and longitude.

The many scores of survey parties, whether for boundary or other purposes, have contributed very largely to our knowledge because many of them were explicitly instructed carefully to collect and record all the information they could gather about the geography, the rock formations, the vegetation, the peoples, resources, etc. of the countries through which they passed. The German report on the joint British-German survey for the delimitation of the boundary between Victoria Nyanza and Kilimanjaro was a delight to those who appreciate definite, reliable information about new lands. The governor general of the vast French Congo

declared a year ago, that the reports on itinerary surveys were too summary to be of the highest usefulness in completing the map of the colony; and he issued an order that survey parties should collect and coördinate series of facts relating to geology, hydrology, meteorology, ethnography, botany, statistics, etc., all of which, as he said, are of prime importance in the development of the French Congo.

This supplementary idea has been added to most of the schemes of map-making. Hundreds of map sheets, therefore, give a good, general idea of the nature of the economic development for which each region mapped seems best adapted. These maps, accordingly, are of prime importance in the shaping of new enterprises.

The many maps which the French have produced in the Sahara are topographical itineraries, with astronomical points fixed so that there has been large rectification of positions assigned by the earlier explorers to oases, wells, settlements and routes. Trigonometrical surveys have also been made of important oases. Some grazing areas and cultivable lands have been discovered and outlined in the middle and south of the Sahara. Few military expeditions have been richer in geographical results than that which the French have recently led against the warrior class who preyed upon the pastoral people of Mauritania. A map was constructed of the whole area traversed so that another white space in Africa has been filled with map detail. The British have shown in Kordofan that, though the best maps must be based upon triangulation, still a map may be made that is most useful and informing though not strictly accurate from a cartographic standpoint.

In a concise reference to the mapping of tropical Africa, which is of great importance in development work, only a few of the most conspicuous features can be mentioned. Dr. Gruner has said of the fine ten sheet map of Togo, on a scale of 1:2,000,000, or 3.1 statute miles to an inch, that even on this comparatively large scale it was impossible to show all the accurate topographic detail collected. This map was in preparation for about ten years; and, as in all the German maps based upon detailed surveys, accurately

determined data are carefully differentiated from less exact information, by the color scheme and other devices.

The Togo map and the other German maps of large parts of German East and Southwest Africa and the Cameroons are among the very best products of the kind that have ever been made in new lands. They give an incomparably more accurate idea of the regions they represent than we could possibly derive from any map of the western part of the Balkan Peninsula, published twenty years ago. The official German Colonial Atlas, printed in 1897, is so completely out of date, that new sheets are being issued embracing the large amount of cartographic material now available.

The French map product also maintains a high standard. The sheets, in colors, of the colonies, on which the Colonial Office has generalized the enormous amount of survey material collected, are among the best maps of recently explored parts of the world. Both the British and French governments are also issuing map sheets on a scale of 1:1,000,000, containing the results of the latest information on the areas covered.

Comparatively little new map work has been done in the Portuguese and Spanish territories; and it must suffice here merely to refer to the very serviceable cartographic output of the Belgian Congo and other colonies. The present status of map work has made possible, within the past few years, the production of good economic maps showing climatic and topographic variations, the distribution of great forests, swamps, dry areas, plains, highlands, minerals and other export products, the extent of navigation etc. All these maps are preliminary and imperfect but they represent the great progress in our knowledge of Africa; and about 100 new map sheets are issued every year to supplement and improve them. Though Africa is the last of the continents to be opened to enterprise, this great event has occurred in an era that in many ways, and not least in the production of good maps, is facilitating more rapid development than was possible in any other of the continents.

As in surveys and map making, so also in railroad construction and telegraph installation, tropical Africa, in the

space of twenty-five years, has far surpassed the record of any other new land in the same length of time. The impossibility of developing the colonies without bringing the great interior areas of production into close relations with the sea by means of railroads was recognized from the first; and a large amount of government and private capital has been invested in these enterprises. Some of them, most notably the Congo Railroad, in the lower cataract region, have, from the first, paid all charges and substantial dividends. Most of them have paid all working expenses and a part of the interest on their obligations. Their record, in these initial days of colonial production, is of splendid augury for their future success.

Reference can be made here only to some of the more important rail routes. The Cape to Cairo Railroad has advanced from Cape Town across the Zambesi at Victoria Falls to Broken Hill, the present terminus of the main line. A branch line to the northwest is now in operation to the copper field of Katanga (Belgian Congo) so that there is continuous rail connection from Cape Town over 2100 miles north. The northern section is now completed to Senaar, on the Blue Nile. On the way south, it will circumvent the swamp region of the White Nile. The whole line (Cape to Cairo) will be about 6,870 miles long and about four-fifths of the distance is now covered by steam routes, rail or river.

The Belgian Railroad Company of the Great Lakes, is just completing its rail routes around the cataracts and rapids of the Upper Congo, so that there will now be uninterrupted steam transportation by water or land, for about 2,250 miles from the mouth of the river to Kalengwe Falls, the extreme limit of navigation. A railroad is to be built from these Falls to Southern Katanga. This mining region will therefore have steam connections with the sea, both at Cape Town, at the mouth of the Congo and at Beira, in Portuguese East Africa.

The foreign trade of the Nyasaland Protectorate has been hampered by the fact that the Shire River is impassable for most craft during the dry months, (April-December). This

impediment has now been obviated by a railroad in operation between Port Herald and Blantyre, the capital of the Protectorate.

Speke was about a year and Stanley eight months in reaching Victoria Nyanza from the Indian Ocean. A governor of German East Africa has now left his capital at Dar es Salaam, traveled by steamer to Mombasa, thence by the Uganda Railroad to Victoria Nyanza, then by steamer around the entire coast, stopping at every German station and in Uganda, and back to his capital, about a month after he left it.

The upper and middle Niger is now connected at three points with the sea by steam transportation. The French are running trains from Kayes, the head of navigation, on the Senegal River, to Bamako on the Niger, connecting with the little steamers for Timbuktu, on the edge of the Sahara; so that the time from Timbuktu to France, if close connections are made, is nineteen days. The Senegal however, in the dry season is not navigable. The French are therefore constructing a railroad from Dakar, their leading port in Senegal, to Kayes, in order to secure uninterrupted steam service between the Atlantic and Timbuktu. The same government has completed a railroad across its colony of French Guinea from Konakry, the chief port, to Kurussa on the Upper Niger, and have thus two steam routes to that river. The third railroad to the Niger, further south, is a British enterprise, now in operation between Lagos and Jebba, with results so remarkable that if the figures for the last three months, of 1910, correspond with those of the previous nine months, the receipts for that year will be about \$500,000 over and above the operating expenses. It will take some time to bridge the Niger at Jebba, but the railroad is advancing rapidly beyond the river and it will be completed in less than three years to Kano the leading commercial center of the Central Sudan, and will pass through the great cotton area of Northern Nigeria; with a branch running to Bauchi, now said to be one of the greatest future sources of the world's tin supply.

The native labor question involves perplexities but it is

moving towards solution. Nearly all of tropical Africa is for the blacks, not for white colonists. The natives themselves must supply the manual labor which development requires. The whites will direct the important enterprises but unless the native furnishes the brawn and sinew, the work will not be done. So the colonial policies have long been formulating around the idea that the negro is essential to prosperity, an indispensable constituent in the agencies of wealth production and that all efforts to build up thriving colonies without him will fail.

The labor question has been much obscured by writers who have drawn sweeping deductions from what they have seen in very limited areas. Many natives are not yet willing to work longer than is necessary to procure the few things they wish to buy. Some West African merchants, one day, thought they would stimulate rubber production by offering a higher price for it. To their surprise, the supply fell off. The natives found that at the higher price, they could satisfy their immediate wants by sending less rubber to market. Many such instances have been used to fortify the idea that the native African will not work unless you flog him to his task. This is an untenable proposition. The British know it and their laws rigidly forbid any form of enforced native labor in their African territory. The Germans have learned it and the early proposal to establish forced labor in German East Africa has never been carried out. There are many tribes such as the Wakikuyu, of the British East Africa highlands, who are, persistently, hard workers. A little familiarity with the idea that hard work will bring more comfort has turned tens of thousands of natives to habits of industry. When the Congo enterprise began, Stanley could not induce the natives to work for him. He sent to Zanzibar and to Liberia for labor. But before the railroad was built around the Congo cataracts, 40,000 of these Congo men were in the portage service. About 4000 of the Congolese have long been at work building the stretches of railroad around sections of the upper river rapids. They have not only graded the roadbed and laid the rails, but they have also burned lime and made brick and built

the stations along the new route; for one of the prominent purposes of the whole colonial régime in tropical Africa is to give industrial education to many natives so that they may better help themselves and render more effective service to the whites. Both governments and missionary societies are enlisted in this work and nowhere with better results than in the Belgian Congo where these trained blacks are not only locomotive firemen but engineers as well; where they partly man the government printing office and have become good carpenters, cabinet makers and masons; and native tailoresses make garments on sewing machines for the thousands of black police, soldiery and workmen.

The Handbook of the Nyasaland Protectorate says that native labor is plentiful, except in the rainy season, when the people are busy on their farmlands and will work freely for the whites only at higher wages. In some of the colonies the natives are developing an ambition to till land for the profit they can make from the sale of their products. In 1908, the tribes near Victoria Nyanza sold for export over the Uganda Railroad, 1412 tons of grain, 1207 tons of potatoes and pineapples, and 359 tons of beans; and their sales in each line of farm products are increasing every year by hundreds of tons. We may cite another still more striking instance from the Gold Coast, West Africa. Only a few years ago, cacao was experimentally raised in the Botanical Gardens, and eighty pounds were exported, the first export from that colony of the commodity that gives us chocolate and cocoa. In 1907, the exports were 21,000,-000 pounds and every pound was the product of native agriculture. The feeling is now strong that in British West Africa, as far as agriculture is concerned, the best line of development will be in the encouragement and training of the native farmer.

It may be long before the average native attains his best efficiency as farmer or wage earner, but the tendency, on the whole, is towards improvement. The main fact is that throughout the colonies, the black man is selling to the whites a tremendous total of manual service, and more of it every year; in addition, he pays a tax to help support the govern-

ment under which he lives. In his report for 1909, Mr. Swann, of the Nyasaland Protectorate, says that the native tax, in only one of his collection districts, yielded \$125,000 in that year. In some colonies, the natives complain that they are not getting sufficient return for the tax they pay. In the French Congo, the annual tax is \$1 per individual, and the Catholic missionaries say that the government is doing nothing to improve navigation or the native roads to markets and is leaving the support of schools and hospitals entirely to the missions. On the whole, however, the white governments, including the French colonies, are carrying out wisely devised plans for native education, elementary of course, and particularly strong along industrial lines.

Such unspeakable outrages upon the natives as those in the Abir and one or two other rubber concessions in the Belgian Congo, are a thing of the past. To the concessionary companies was given, stupidly or wickedly, not only the exploitation of rubber in the fields assigned to them, but also absolute control over the black population in the conceded territories, regardless of the laws of the Congo State which, if enforced, were ample for native protection. We have heard of the remarkable fortunes of the little island of São Thomé in the Gulf of Guinea, 31 miles long and 19 miles wide, whose cacao exports, in ten years, have amounted to \$68,000,000; and that this story of the wonderful bounty of São Thomé is marred by the fact that the labor recruiting system of Portuguese Angola, practically reduces the men and women who work on these island plantations, to a state of slavery. We hear now that the Portuguese law of July 17, 1909, is expected to end this disgraceful condition.

We may expect any week now to be able to hear over-night from Timbuktu, on the southern Saharan edge. The whole world is now in touch with the Congo, the great lakes, the Zambesi River, by telegraph. Tropical Africa is being brought nearer and nearer to the civilized nations and it is becoming more and more difficult to subject natives to a policy of systematic abuse without arousing protests that will be effective.

While tropical Africa can never become a home for mil-

lions of the white race there are a few areas where good lands stand so high above the sea that temperate influences prevail. To these regions white immigration is already invited, to some extent, and they are destined to become the homes of many thousands of white toilers whose enterprises will include the raising of European cereals, good cattle and good breeds of sheep both for meat and wool. These lands include a large area in British East Africa where the plain gradually and steadily rises inland, as it does from Omaha to the Rocky Mountains, so that, at Nairobi, 327 miles from the port of Mombasa, the elevation is 5450 feet above the sea, in the Kikuya country to the north and west, from 4500 to 6500 feet and west of the Mau Escarpment from 6000 to nearly 8000 feet. On this high plateau of British East Africa, white settlers, stock-raisers and farmers have already taken up over 1,000,000 acres much of it divided into large ranches, though there are a considerable number of small farmers. This great region adapted for white laborers includes some of the expansive game reserves where, under the law, game cannot be hunted except by special permit which is seldom granted. The whites say, that on account of the enormous quantity of big game, they find it almost impossible to maintain fences; also that where millions of antelopes, zebras and other grazing animals can fatten on these wide grass lands, great numbers of cattle and sheep would thrive. There is a general feeling that the government should cease to extend its protection over game in immense regions that are capable of development. Colonel Sir James Sadler, governor of the colony, said in a recent speech that game preservation must not be permitted to impede the development of the country by white settlers and that changes in the game laws in this particular, were under consideration.

German East Africa has a fine section of these fertile highlands in the neighborhood of Mounts Kilimanjaro and Meru, where many German, Greek and other peasants are already settled and also several hundred Boers from the Transvaal. These Boers, like their fathers, are skilful and hardy pioneers. They have introduced the ox-wagon into

the colony. Most of them are living on the extensive grass plains of the Meru district. The more well-to-do have covered considerable areas with maize, beans, wheat, white potatoes, fruits and vegetables and also comparatively large cattle and sheep raising. Others farm on a smaller scale with a few score of cattle and 200 or 300 sheep. Ostrich farming has begun, alfalfa is one of the new crops and beef is preserved for home consumption by drying.

Another splendid area in German East Africa for future European settlement is the high plateau of Ruanda in the northwest corner of the colony. The government has not yet organized this province.

The area which the Belgian Congo offers to white settlers comprises about 40,000,000 acres in High Katanga, between 10 degrees S. Lat. and the southern and eastern frontiers of the colony. The land is about 4900 feet above the sea with a mild and salubrious climate closely resembling that of Southern Rhodesia where white settlers are constantly arriving. This area is in the highly mineralized part of Katanga and the agricultural opportunities are probably inferior to those of the other tropical highlands; but white colonists are now moving into this region. The largest number of white settlers in any of the new colonies, will probably be found, ultimately, in the southern part of German Southwest Africa, but this region is south of the southern tropic. No common man is fitted for the tremendous work of taming these wildernesses. The pioneer must have the sternest qualities, the greatest fortitude and endurance. No ordinary immigrant is accepted by the governments inviting immigration. The settler, also, while liberally assisted by government, must go provided with some means of his own.

But what of the thousands of white men who must live under intense tropical conditions, planning every phase of the material evolution of these countries and of the training of the negro for the most effective service? We may say, at least, that the terrible mortality that accompanied the initiation of this work is not witnessed to-day. The great progress in the study of tropical hygiene, the abolition, for

the most part, of tinned foods, the supply at most stations of fresh meat and of European vegetables, the accessibility of medical attendance, the care that is widely taken to provide the whites with spacious, well ventilated houses, with ample shade, vegetable and flower gardens, bath houses in many cases, books and papers and in other ways to minister to their comfort and well being—all these influences have helped greatly to decrease the death rate; so that it is now reasonable to expect that a strong, healthy man may maintain fair health and energy for his two or three years of enlistment and that, after a good rest in a milder climate, he will return to the work with new vigor.

The material results of all this exploration, experimentation and study have been very great; and greater still, the countless lessons learned that will go very far to give the right impetus, the proper direction and the efficient method in all the future work. In view of the facts that the governmental régime had to be organized and the plant provided from the ground up, while, at the same time, a vast amount of exploration and of fundamental development work was carried on and is still in progress, it is not surprising that government expenditures still exceed the revenues; but the disparity between them is decreasing. I may here give a fact or two indicative of the trend of the commercial movement. The following import figures do not include imports for government purposes but only foreign commodities sold to the population. The export figures wholly represent colonial products sold in foreign markets.

The imports of the little Togo colony of Germany in 1898 were worth \$757,000; in 1908, \$2,127,000.

The exports of Togo, in 1898 were worth \$503,900; in 1908, \$1,703,000.

The imports of German East Africa in 1898 were worth \$4,213,000; in 1908, \$6,446,000; exports in 1898, \$1,498,000; in 1908, \$2,718,000.⁴

⁴The total import and export trade of French West Africa doubled in the ten years ending in 1908. Statist. du Commerce des Colonies Françaises, pour l'Année 1908, Tome premier, Paris, 1910. p. 108. The imports of the

seed from American upland grown in Nyasaland as the plant thrives better there than that from seed imported from our country. Large tracts are under cotton culture in Uganda. The natives have taken kindly to the industry, and without European supervision are preparing the land, sowing the seed, and bringing a raw material to market that for length of staple and general quality compares favorably with any cotton in the world. In 1908, four years after the first experimental efforts, the Uganda crop was sold for \$250,000. In West Africa, the cotton product of Togo, in 1909, showed an increase of 32 per cent over the previous year. The experts who for some years have been studying the prospects of cotton in Northern Nigeria, assert that there are 24,000,000 acres in the colony which will grow the quality of fiber that Lancashire requires. If this is correct, Nigeria has three-fourths as much land adapted for cotton raising, as the United States devoted to that crop in 1909.

Sisil hemp, of which Yucatan is now the greatest source of supply, is doing so well in German East Africa that the planters complain that the facilities for shipping their fibre from the important port of Tanga, are inadequate. Wheat is growing in the highlands of Angola, British East Africa, and in Angoni Land (Nyasaland) and it is estimated that tropical Africa will produce enough wheat for all the whites living in that region. Rice in several of the West Africa colonies is declared to be fully equal if not superior to the Bengal article.

For ten years the best breeds of European cattle have been taken to Africa for the improvement of the native cattle with the result that in some tropical regions more milk and better beef per animal is now attained; but, on the whole, the experiment has not been very successful for the mixed breeds are quite susceptible to disease. It is so important, however, that these food resources should be in adequate supply for the whites that the experiments are continued. One of the latest phases is the importation of a breed of Zebu cattle from India, famous both for milk and meat to cross with the native stock. Millions of sheep will be raised among the highlands of tropical Africa, for wool as well as for meat.

The experiments with wool sheep on the high plateaus of British East Africa, have been most encouraging for the future of the industry.*

The study given in the past thirty years to the question of the capacity of tropical Africa, to add largely to the wealth of the world, and thereby enhance her own well-being, has conclusively proven that this vast region has enormous resources of great variety that only await exploitation; and

TRIPOLI IN BARBARY

INCLUDING AN INSIGHT INTO NORTH AFRICA AND
THE SAHARA AND A BRIEF COMMENT ON THE
FRENCH SCHEME OF EMPIRE IN AFRICA.

By Charles Wellington Furlong, F. R. G. S.

INTRODUCTION

The last hundred years have been essentially a century of the scientific exploitation of the world, in which, exploration, science and commerce have become *interdependent*, and thus have *tri-linked* themselves in seeking out and knowing the waste and hidden parts of the earth and their inhabitants. But it is in Africa in particular that modern European interest and enterprise have centered.

AFRICA

An unknown region is ever veiled with mystery, until man tears the veil apart, then, too frequently its enchantment moves back to the further beyond, like some elusive Circe. So, to the Christian nations, Africa long was and still is, to some extent, a fabulous land. Even after penetrating its vast solitudes or inhabited places, the explorer is thrilled with wonderful discoveries, and despite hardships, the land continues to hold over one a weird charm.

Africa is the world's great central continent, the Equator running exactly midway between its northern and southern extremities, which reach respectively the latitudes of the cities of Washington and Buenos Aires.

Starting from the veldt of Africa's great south central plateau, through her lake region, and vast equatorial forests, from which tower stupendous mountains capped with everlasting snows, we reach the great belt of the Sudan, 8 degrees to 16 degrees north of the Equator, where the great sea of green forest straggles out and terminates in a sea of golden sand,—the vast plateau of the Sahara.

Africa is the home of the Blacks, and as is shown in that new and valuable publication *The Negro in the New World* by Sir H. H. Johnston, the Negro paints it darkest in the southern half, gradually browning out through the negroid in the Sudan and north of it, where he has intermixed with the white-race Tuaregs of the Great Desert and the Arab and Berber tribes of North Africa and Arabia.

Here is a great region nearly four times the area of the United States, peopled with perhaps 170 millions, the majority of whom are in a savage or semi-barbaric condition. Many are still strong, virile, neolithic or paleolithic savages, whose primitive intellect, weapons and methods of warfare have been no match for the strategy and weapons of the Mohammedan slave-raider or the Christian slave-trader. But *today*, virtuous Europe no longer steals Africans from Africa; her civilization, honesty, and humanitarianism have frowned upon that, so she reverses the order of things and now steals Africa from the Africans. Thus we find Africa partitioned—sold out, as it were, among the nations of Europe. The body of the house is occupied by Great Britain, France and Germany, with Portugal, Italy, Spain and Holland trying to squeeze into the aisles, while Turkey, the “Sick man of Europe” is about to be carried out, and the unoccupied seats are marked “*reserved*.”

The Sudan has not only been the meeting ground of the desert and the forest, but likewise the big trade belt of North and South, East and West, with the great Hausa city of Kano as the important focal point—the metropolis of Africa, to which the great caravans from the north creep their way across the deserts to return north again. The most important caravans travel one or the other of the three principal trade routes which focus eventually in the city of Tripoli—the Gateway to the Sahara.

History of North Africa and Tripolitania

Twelve centuries before Christ, Phoenician traders had worked their way along the southern shores of the Mediterranean. As centuries rolled by Utica (Utica) and other

cities were reared, among them Carthage and at the close of the Third Punic War, the territory we now know as Tripolitania, became a province of the Caesars.

Three cities, Leptis, Sabrata, and Oea, anciently constituted a federal union known as Tripolis, while the district governed by their Concilium Annuum was called Lybia Tripolitania. On the site of Oea modern Tripoli, in Barbary, now stands.

647 A. D. saw the beginning of the great Arab invasion, which sent the resistless tidal wave of the *Iad* (Holy War) sweeping across Barbary. It broke down what was left of Roman rule, and merged the wild Berber aborigines into the great sea of Islām.

Since that remote past the flags of various nations of the Cross have for brief periods flung their folds in victory over this Moslem stronghold. In the sixteenth century the Turkish Sultan, Soliman the Magnificent, drove the Knights of St. John from Tripoli, and received the submission of the Barbary States. In 1714 the Arabs of Tripoli gained independence from their Turkish rulers and for over a century were governed by their own bashaws.

In 1835 Tripoli again came under Turkish rule, since which time the crescent flag of the Ottoman has waved there undisturbed and Tripoli has continued to steep herself in the spirit of Islām, indifferent and insensible to the changes of the outer world.

Tripolitania today

The coast of North Africa from Tunis eastward does not meet the converging water routes short of its eastern extremity at Suez. Along the seaboard of this territory the Mediterranean laps the desert sand and over the unbounded, sun-scorched reaches of Tripoli and Barca, to the borderland of Egypt, wild tribes control the vast wastes.

The great territory of Tripolitania embraces what is known as the *vilayet* of Tripoli, the Fezzan to the south, and the province of Barca on the east, governed as an integral part of Turkey. The Pashālic of Tripoli includes that portion

of the vilayet extending from Tunisia to the southernmost point of the Gulf of Sidra.

Tripoli's freedom from European occupation may be attributed to three causes: her isolation from the main highways of commerce, the apparent sterility of her desert plateau as compared with the more fertile Atlas regions of the other Barbary states, and the fact that she is a vilayet of the Turkish Empire.

Tripoli—the City

In looking over Tripoli, one sees her on the edge of the desert—a dazzling, white-washed, color-tinted city, a great sea of flat housetops, broken only by several minarets, an occasional palm-tree, the castle battlements, and the flag-staffs of the European consulates. The mosques, the city walls, and some of the more important buildings are built of huge blocks of stone, but on the whole it is a city of sun-dried bricks, rafters of palm-wood, and whitewash.

At its eastern end is the ancient Castle of the Bashaws, the focus of the Turkish administration of Tripolitania, military and civil. It serves, not only as a prison and barracks, but as the headquarters of the Turkish Commander-in-chief, who rules as Pashā of the vilayet of Tripoli. He is in command of the twenty thousand troops who exercise general surveillance over the towns and districts where they are stationed. It is the duty of these scantily clad and poorly paid Ottomans to assist in collecting taxes from the poverty stricken Arabs, to protect caravans along the coast routes, and enforce Turkish administration in a few leading towns and their vicinities.

The Native Races

The majority of those who live in the towns of Tripolitania or drift through her oases and across her deserts are of the four great native races:

Berbers, descendants of the original inhabitants; Arabs, progeny of those conquerors who overran the country cen-

turies ago; the native Jew; and lastly, itinerant Blacks who migrate from the South.

The Berbers have settled throughout the mountains and plateau lands; the Arabs mostly in the towns and deserts, and the Blacks generally where fortune favors them most. Nearly all these people profess Mohammedanism, and intermarrying to some extent has gone on for centuries.

The Berber race is best represented in Barbary by the wild Kabyles of the Atlas, and in the heart of the Sahara by the fierce Touaregs. Moor and Bedaween best typify the Arabs; the Moor is a town-dwelling Arab, the Bedaween a nomad. Of the Blacks there are two classes, the bond and the free.

Last but not least, however, is the native Jew. In every town of Barbary where the Arab tolerates him there in the *Mallah* (Jewish quarter) he is found. Never seeming to belong there, yet omnipresent from the earliest times, he has managed not only to exist beside his Arab neighbors, but has thriven.

First, and most important of the intrusive foreign element are the Turkish military and merchants. Next in numbers are the several hundred Italians and a Maltese colony of fisher-folk who live near the Lazaretto (Quarantine) by the sea. Members of the foreign consulates and a few other Europeans complete the population.

In Tripoli the religious classification of Moslem, Jew and Christian is most emphasized perhaps by their respective holidays, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday. From the Western point of view this interferes somewhat with trade, but is not felt by those who would regard life as one long siesta.

As in all North Africa so in Tripoli evidences of the Roman occupation confront one on every hand. Columns of a Pagan Rome support the beautiful domed vaultings of some of the mosques, or, are set in as corner posts to the houses at every other turn, and the drums thrown lengthwise and chiselled flat are used as steps or door-sills. Beyond the walls of the town fragments of tessellated pavements laid down 2000 years ago are occasionally found.

In the very heart of Tripoli stands what once must have been one of the most splendid, triumphal arches of antiquity. It is known to the Moors as the Old Arch; to the Europeans, as the Arch of Marcus Aurelius, in whose honor it was erected A. D. 164.

Through its narrow streets Tripoli's thirty thousand inhabitants go to their tasks and pleasures. Under arches, trellised vines or in little booths most of the industries necessary to the subsistence of the town are carried on.

At every hand one is enclosed by one or two storied houses, whose bare walls with few windows and heavily made doors give little suggestion of the beauties of color and craftsmanship those of the better class may contain.

Spanning the street of the *Suk-el-Turc* (Turk's Market) is a trellis-work covered with grape-vines. Here most of the official business is transacted, and notaries as well as other public officials have their offices. In the quiet shadows of long arcades, men pass noiselessly in slippered feet over carpets and rugs from Kairwan, Misurata, and the farther East.

To the casual Occidental observer, undoubtedly the visual impressions are paramount. For the atmospheric color in its semi-tropical brilliancy serves to make more effective and luminous the variegated detail of local color—of people, houses, mosques and bazaars. But to one to whom it is a prism through which he views Moorish thought and character in deeper relationship, it has a far-reaching symbolism—the all-prevading influence of Islām.

Character

It is little wonder that here in the Bled-el-Alteusch—The Country of Thirst—where the relentless sun enforces rest and the great solitudes seem to brood a sadness over things, there has been engendered in all the people a life of contemplation and fatalism little known and still less understood by thicker-blooded men whose lives are spent in struggle and activity against the adverse elements of northern climes.

Tripoli is a land of contrasts—rains which turn the dry

in the Moslem life, for there is no social intercourse among Mohammedans in the Occidental sense of the word.

Taxation

The Turkish Imperial taxation is under the head of *verghi* (poll and property tax) and the tithe on agricultural produce. During the ten years preceding my sojourn in Tripoli in 1904, the total averaged \$540,000 annually.

The *verghi* payable by the vilayet was fixed at a sum equivalent to \$408,000. Only in two years was this obtained, in 1901 and surpassed in 1902. Both were years of bad harvests, showing the tremendous pressure which must have been brought to bear on the peasants by the authorities. During the past thirty years the trade of Tripoli has been stationary, with an average value of \$3,850,000—exports balancing imports with remarkable regularity.

The countrymen convert all their scant earnings into silver ornaments, and these are deposited on the persons of their wives—a veritable burden of riches, for they are constantly worn. I have run across women hauling water under the cattle yoke of the desert wells, literally loaded down with pounds of silver, while the husband sat on the edge of the well-curb and directed the irrigation of his fields.

This silver forms an important function as a barometer of the country's prosperity, to read which one has but to go to the little booths of the silversmiths in the trellis-covered *Suk-el-Turc* and note whether the country people are sellers or buyers. In 1900, a year of poor crops, \$72,500 worth of this old silver, so dear to the womankind of the peasantry, was broken up and exported, chiefly to France.

Though the Tripolitan is quick to learn, he has little creative genius, and his constitutional apathy is a formidable barrier against departure from his primitive customs and traditions. In the deserts certain tribes live by means of reprisals and by extorting heavy tolls from caravans. In the vicinity of the populated districts there are marauding

bands of thieves, and in the towns and *sukk* (markets) are scheming ne'er-do-wells. But from *my* observation, most of the people hard-earned their bread at honest labor; the artisan in the town, the farmer in the country, the trader and caravan man on the trails.

Agriculture

While the vilayet of Tripoli is a purely agricultural province, a very small area of these barren, inhospitable wastes is cultivated or cultivable under present conditions, and one need not look far for the primary cause—the yoke of Turkish taxation.

The district which lies between the crumbling eastern extremity of the Atlas known as the Tripoli Hills and the sea forms almost the entire present productive soil of the vilayet of Tripoli, being two-fifths of its 410,000 square miles. In this narrow strip, Arabs, Berbers and Bedawi cultivate cereals, vegetables and fruit trees. Here one is transported into an Old Testament land, to a people who still cling with childish tenacity to the picturesque and crude customs of ages past.

The soil, however, is so fertile, that with abundant rains the harvests are surprising in their yield. The seed sown is occasionally wheat, guinea corn, or millet, but generally barley, the staple food of the Arab.

Through lack of rain the Tripolitan can count on only four good harvests out of ten. This also affects the wool production, and in bad years the Arab, fearing starvation, sells his flocks and his seed for anything he can get. Through lack of initiative and encouragement added to the burden of heavy taxation, fully one-half of the cultivable soil lies fallow, and the Arab cattle-raiser, or peasant sows only sufficient seed for his support through the coming year. Any surplus which may be acquired, however, generally finds its way into the hand of the usurer and the tax gatherer, so that the Arab stands to lose by extended cultivation.

Markets

Outside the town walls, or at established spots within the oases, *sukks* (markets) are held on certain days of the week. To these, over the sandy highways through the palm groves, passes the native traffic—small caravans of donkeys and camels loaded with the products of agriculturists, and shepherds with their flocks of sheep.

Instinctively the natives prefer to barter, but this method of trade has been greatly superseded by the use of Turkish currency, although napoleons and sovereigns pass in the coast towns as readily as *paras* and *medjicies*.

Industries

Of Tripoli's principal industries, three stand out pre-eminently—sponge-gathering, esparto picking, and the trans-Saharan caravan trade through which the principal resources respectively of sea, coast, and Desert, (including the Sudan), are made marketable exports. Besides these, great quantities of cattle (in good years) eggs, mats, old silver, woolen cloths, and other local products are shipped annually, going mainly to Great Britain, France, Turkey, Italy, Malta, Tunis, and Egypt. One article only—Sudan skins—finds its way to the United States, which supply depends upon the security of the trade routes. These skins go to New York for the manufacture of a cheap grade of gloves or shoes.

Coast

Out of Tripoli's total export trade of about \$2,000,000, sponges amounted to \$350,000 or over a fifth, esparto grass to \$630,000 or over a third, and goods from the trans-Saharan caravan trade to \$314,000 or over one-sixth. The other remaining three-tenths of her exports comprise the products of the oases and towns on or near the coast.

The seaboard of Tripolitania particularly off Tripoli can well afford to boast of its share of maritime destruction.

In Tunis, Algiers, and other ports in the two French North African colonies, good harbors have been construc-

ted and vessels unload at the quays, but in Tripoli and Morocco all cargoes are transferred in lighters or galleylike row-boats, and little protection is offered vessels lying at anchor.

Tripoli harbor affords better protection to vessels than many on the North African coast; but because of dangerous reefs and shoals it is a most difficult harbor to enter.

Sponge Industry

In the Eastern half of the Mediterranean, along the coast from Tunis to the Levant, including the islands of the Aegean Sea, stretch great regions of sponge colonies. Those extending for three hundred and fifty miles along the North African coast, from the Tunisian frontier to Misurata on the east, are known as the Tripoli grounds, and here with the last north winds of the rainy season come the sponge fleets from the Greek Archipelago. In this industry the sea claims its largest toll of human lives through that deadly enemy of the *scaphander* [helmeted diver]—diver's paralysis.

Out of the seven hundred scaphanders working on this coast, from sixty to a hundred die every year, and, sooner or later, hardly a man escapes from it in one form or another. These conditions are due, in great part, to the ignorance and brutality of the men engaged in the industry. On the other hand, there have been captains from Aegina, who have been in business for fifteen years and have never lost a diver.

The Greek government, however, is doing everything possible to remedy the conditions. It has laid down certain laws, and assigns to these grounds a hospital ship and a corvette and maintains a hospital on shore. But owing to the extensive area of the sponge grounds and other causes, it is almost impossible to keep watch and detect those who violate the laws.

The industry is carried on from April to October.

A sponge fleet consists of five or six ton machine boats which carry air-pumping machines and equipment called (*scaphandra*), and which are divided into two classes, according to the quality of their diver's suits which deter-

mine the depth of diving. As the fleets keep to sea for two months at a time, every four machine boats are attended by one fifty-ton deposit boat (*deposita*). Aboard the deposit boat are stored the sponges, food, clothing, and other necessities. Smaller supply boats (*bakietta*) communicate with shore, bring supplies from Greece, and also men, to take the places of those who have died. Some three thousand men work by scaphandra on the African coast. Today the scaphanders alone remain to claim the profits of the industry, the proceeds of which in a single year have amounted to almost a million dollars.

Tripoli sponges are inferior to those found in other parts of the Mediterranean, the best quality (those gathered from rocks) is worth from \$4.00 to \$5.00 per oke (2.82 lbs.); and the third quality, brought up without intent by the trawlers, from \$2.40 to \$4.00 per oke.

Often great strings of sponges bleaching and drying in the sun cover large portions of the standing rigging of deposit boats when in port. When dry they are worked up in sand, then packed in boxes ready for shipment; a third to a quarter of the crop is sold direct from Tripoli, mainly to England, to France and to Italy; the bulk of the crop, unbleached and unprepared, is taken at the close of the season to the islands from which the boats came, where long experience, manipulation and cheap labor prepare them for the European market.

Esparto

From Portugal and Spain, along the sandy regions of the Atlas, as they range through the western half of Northern Africa until they finally dwindle away into the desert sands of Tripoli there grows at intervals at the bases of the mountains, and on the plateau lands great seas of a waving, broom-like grass called, *esparto* by the Europeans—*halfa* by the Arabs. In Spain and the Barbary states esparto is an object of commercial enterprise, in Tripoli the grass is gathered by the Arabs of the *wadan* (country) and it is later shipped in great bales to England for the manufacture of paper.

Despite the fact that the esparto is considered nonreproductive and is incapable of cultivation, I noticed that the Arabs pulled it up, root and all. This is the custom among the esparto pickers in Tripoli, and was so in Tunis and Algeria until the French put a stop to this disastrous method of gathering. Now they require it to be cut, and thus the great esparto districts of *Oran*, *Bougie*, *Philippeville*, and *Oued Laya* owe their preservation to the foresight of the French colonial government.

Far out on the sunscorched foothills of the djebel the esparto picker gathers the strong fibrous stem from the sparsely scattered clumps, always wary of the rock scorpion and viper. When the time is ripe for transporting the esparto to the seaports of Bengazi, Khoms, Zleiten and Tripoli, caravans are organized and take up the march of from two to four days as the camel journeys.

A cursory glance at the *Suk-el-Halfa* or *esparto* market will impress even the stranger with the importance of the esparto trade, and a few words with any Tripolitan merchant will reveal the fact that not only is it Tripoli's leading export, but in years of little rain and scant harvest, with practically the extinction of the trans-Saharan caravan trade, it is the only *natural* resource which the Arab peasant can fall back upon.

Since 1868, when the first shipload of esparto was sent to England, vessels have borne away thousands of tons yearly to that country. You or I pick up a heavy looking novel, perchance, and marvel at its lightness, and the reader of some London newspaper peruses its columns and then casts aside the finished product of the esparto pickers.

In 1901, which was an average year, 215,155 camel loads came into the coast towns; nearly 134,000 passed through the gateway to the *Suk-el-Halfa*, the total export of the country amounting to about 33,000 tons. That from the town of Tripoli, 16,690 tons, brought £75,000, which was over a fourth of the amount of Tripoli's total exports.

But while the esparto trade today is Tripoli's leading export, back in the *jebel*, (mountains) the *halfa* picker still with ruthless shortsightedness tears and rips it root and all

from the sandy wastes. Each successive year now entails longer journeys to the coast, with increased labor and cost of transportation. Each year brings smaller returns, three pounds per ton being the selling price in England, as compared with twelve pounds of former times.

A decreasing demand for esparto grass has followed the introduction of wood pulp into England from North America and Norway, naturally resulting in a decreased value in the English market. And many pickers have preferred to leave the gathered grass to the sun and the sandstorm to transporting it at little profit, and, perhaps, loss. Not many years hence, will, in all likelikood, see the passing of the esparto trade of Tripoli, of a labor big and primitive, of swarthy Arabs, heavily burdened camels, and sweating black men.

Caravan Trade

The town of Tripoli is the nearest North African coast port for the Sudan. The sun scorched surface of the Sahara with its sand-hills and oases, mountain ranges and plateau, is greater in area by some half million miles than the United States and Alaska combined, and is peopled by some three to four millions of Berbers, Arabs and Blacks, with a few Turkish garrisons in the north. By way of Ghadames, Ghat, and Murzuk, through the Fezzan to Lake Chad, go the caravan trails, and then far away south again, to the Sudan, Land of the Blacks. Here its teeming millions form the great negro states of Bambara, Timbuctu, and Hausaland in the west; Bornu and Baghermi around Lake Chad; Wadi, Darfur, and Kordufan in the east, extending from Abyssinia to the Gulf of Guinea.

Of these trails, their trade, and the men who escort the heavily loaded caravans little enough has been said; still less of the innumerable dangers which constantly beset them as they creep their way across the burning desolate wastes, on their long journeys to the great marts of the Sudan,—Timbuctu, Kano, Kanem, Kuka, Bornu and Wadi.

At times large profits are reaped, but frequently large losses are entailed, not so much through the rise and fall of

the European market as through the dangers *en route*, in which attacks and pillage by Desert robbers, and reprisals to make good losses incurred by tribal warfare, play no small part.

Caravans vary in size, from that of some lone, nomadic trader or esparto picker, who trudges beside his few camels on his way to some local market, to the great trans-Saharan trade caravans with thousands of camels, not to mention donkeys, goats, sheep, and dogs. Such a caravan is rarely met with; it takes a year or more to outfit; thousands of dollars are invested by Arabs and Jewish merchants. Its numerical strength is increased by smaller caravans, whose *sheiks*, believing in the safety of numbers, often delay their own departure for months.

Moving south from Tripoli, it must cover some fifteen hundred miles of arid desert before it reaches one of the important marts of the Sudan.

After numerous stops and leaving many animals and men to the vultures, the caravan, if fortunate, reaches its destination. In its heavy loads are packed the heterogeneous goods generally taken, consisting of cotton and wool, cloth, waste silk, yarn, box rings, beads, amber, paper, sugar, drugs, and tea of which British cotton goods form more than fifty per cent of the value. Besides these it carries some native products. This cargo is bartered for the products of the Sudan; ivory, ostrich feathers, guinea corn, and gold dust. A year, perhaps after its arrival it begins the return voyage, with a cargo likely enough amounting to nearly a million dollars in value; and it is a question whether it ever reaches Tripoli.

Fonduks, (caravansaries) serve as places of rest and protection, and in some cases supply depots, the importance of the fondūk to caravans and the trade is inestimable. These are usually rectangular enclosures with arcades along the sides and open in the centre, surrounded by the palm and olive gardens of the keeper, who may supply fresh fruits, vegetables, and other domestic products. There is one main entrance protected by heavy doors, which are barred at night. Usually either town or country caravansaries occur

so frequently on the trails that long, forced marches are seldom necessary. About four cents per head is charged for camels and a nominal price for goats and sheep; at foudks green fodder and other supplies may generally be obtained.

Many of the sultans and chiefs, particularly the Touaregs, through whose territories lie the caravan routes, exact not only homage but tribute from the caravan *sheiks*. To bring this tribute within a reasonable sum and secure a safe conduct requires extraordinary skill and tact. The opportunities for dishonesty afforded the caravan men are many, and occasionally men and goods are never heard from again.

The Desert

South from Tripoli, the interminable African main drifts on to the Sudan; west to east it sweeps the whole width of Africa. Even at the Red Sea it merely pauses for a moment at the brink, then dips beneath the limpid waters and continues across Arabia, Persia, and into northern India. For a thousand miles along the western half of North Africa this belt is screened from Europe by the Atlas Mountains, whose lofty peaks cut a ragged line against the sapphire welkin above them. For a thousand miles along the eastern half of North Africa the Desert meets the sea.

The fertile littoral and the mountainous region of Barbary, which extends as far back as the high plateau lands, are called by the Arabs the *Tell*. It is a remarkably rich grain-producing country. Then comes the territory which they designate the *Sah'ra* (Sahara)—a country of vast table-lands, over which is sprinkled a veritable archipelago of oases. Here, under the shadow of their date palms, the inhabitants grow gardens and graze flocks and herds on the open pasturages. Due to the imperfection of geographical knowledge, the name Sahara was erroneously applied by Europeans to the entire region of the Great Desert. Beyond these table-lands of the Sahara lies what, to the Arabs, is the real desert, called *Guebla*, or South, a vague

term applying not only to the arid wastes which we call the Sahara, but also to its hinterland, and the Sudan.

It is a mistake to consider the Desert one great waste of hot level sand. Sand there is in abundance, and heat, too; but there are rocky areas, high mountains, and table-lands, over which in the north, through the regions of Barbary, sweep the cold, penetrating winds of the African winter. Snow falls in the highlands; and after the rains in the spring the whole country seems to burst forth in a wealth of flora.

On the rocky slopes of the mountains, among the parched, thorny shrubs, sparse tufts of rank, yellowed grass, and poisonous milk plants, can be traced the nocturnal wanderings of the hyena, by the huge, dog-like tracks he has left; there, too, the jackal howls as the moon lifts over a mountain crag; or the terrific roar of the lion suddenly breaks the stillness of the night, as though to shake the very mountains from their foundations and send their great boulders crushing down on some sleeping Arab *douar* (village) which, perchance, lies at their base, like a great glow-worm in its stilly whiteness.

The daily aspect of the Sahara is the reverse of that of our country, for in the Desert the landscape is generally light against the sky, which in color so nearly complements the orange-sand as to intensify greatly the contrast. One feels the strange weirdness, the uncanny solitude, the oppressive heat and monotony which make the day's work a constant fight against fatigue, ennui and sometimes sun madness. Watch the sun sink and the color of its light sift through space as through gems; there, where the blue sky lowers to the hot sand, it might have filtered through some green peridot of the Levant. Such are some of the aspects of the Desert, whose charm places one under a spell which it is beyond the power of words to make real to the imagination of one who has never seen it.

It is little wonder that the ancients saw in the Sahara, dark-dotted with oases, the graphic simile of "The Leopard's Skin." The call of those limitless reaches is as subtle and insidious as must be the snow fields of the Arctic.

Oases practically determine the courses of the trade routes which for centuries have been the great arteries of the Desert, oft red-painted with the life-blood of caravans. The size of an oasis, like that of a caravan, is not a fixed quantity, but varies from a few date-palms around a Desert spring to areas over which thousands of these "hermits," as the Arabs call the palms, raise their delicate shafts. One oasis south of Algeria contains over 280,000 trees, and the oasis of Tuat, south of Morocco, covers many square miles of territory. Oases are practically all inhabited; most of them are the result of man's planting, and in many sandy regions a constant warfare must be waged by him against the encroaching sands.

Water

Water may be struck in almost any region of the Sahara and brought to the surface by artesian wells, which are destined to be important factors in its development.

In the Desert south of Tunisia there is an artesian well constructed by M. de Lesseps, over 25 years ago, the water from which rises 25 feet in the air and is made to irrigate 400 to 500 acres of land, on which are growing date-palms, pomegranates, tomatoes, onions and cucumbers. Previous to the construction of this well the whole of the oasis was nothing but barren sand.

This presence of water is perhaps, not difficult to explain. One follows a river, which gradually lessens as the distance from its source increases until it is finally lost; drunk up by the sands. After disappearing, it follows underground courses and with other streams helps to form vast subterranean lakes. Such is the case with many rivers which flow from the southern slopes of the Atlas. These, in all probability, eventually find their way to that vast depression of which the salt wells of Tăodēni are the center.

Water, of course, is an important feature of the caravan trade. Where distances between oases are great, Desert wells are sunk at intervals along the trails.

In some parts of the Desert, particularly in the country of the Touaregs, there are many hidden wells known to them

alone, and it is said they will find a hidden well within a day or two's journey from any point in the Sahara. Wells play an important part in Desert warfare, and the control of a well has more than once been the determining factor in a Desert fray, the besiegers being forced to retire for water. Since, in all lands, riches consist of the possession of that which is the greatest universal need and desire, it is not strange that, in some parts of those arid wastes, a man's wealth is reckoned by the number of wells that he controls.

The Sands

Watch a light zephyr from the southeast as it playfully picks up and twirls the whiffs of sand dust swirling about the legs of men and animals and stinging against their faces. Perhaps it dies down as quietly as it came; perhaps the wind increases and brings the terrific suffocating sand storm in its wake, which may enshroud the land for a week in its suffocating, swirling, yellow gloom leaving shapes weird and picturesque; here, like fossilized waves of the sea; there crossing and recrossing each other in endless monotony.

The Desert as an obstacle to communication has in many cases, been greatly exaggerated. However, the numerous bones which strew the trails bear ample evidence that the Desert, like the sea, claims its toll. Still it is a practical and much-used highway to its several million inhabitants. The black shepherds of the high steppes of the Adrar region, north-west of the Niger country, cross the Igidi Desert every year with their flocks, which they sell in the great markets in the oases of Tuat. In like manner, herds of cattle are driven from the south into the region of the Hoggar Tuaregs, and might easily continue north to Algeria if fodder were grown for them in the oases.

Before the advent of the draught camel into the western Sahara the ancients tell of a people called the Garamantes, who made the long trans-Saharan voyages with burden-bearing cattle; and many inscriptions, rough-hewn on the Desert rocks, bear witness to the previous existence of these people.

The central part of the Desert does not seem to have any great intrinsic value, although the high steppes between the Sahara and the Sudan could be converted into pasturages with a distinctly economic value. Such use is made of the plateau lands of northern Tripoli and southern Tunisia and Algeria. Tunisia has but a million and a half inhabitants; under the Caesars it is said to have supported a population of twenty millions and still had enough cereals to stock Rome, acquiring, with Algeria and Tripoli, the proud distinction of being the granary of the Roman Empire.

There seems good reason to believe that, while the Desert sands encroach northward, there is following in their wake the fertile, tropical vegetation of the Sudan—that the Sudan is encroaching on the Sahara.

TRIPOLI

But what of the morrow of North Africa and Tripolitania. The great dynamic forces of modern civilization cause events to march with astounding swiftness. Tripoli, in Barbary, is already in the eye of Europe; tomorrow the Tripoli of today may have vanished. Thus we are led to take a look into the international grab-bag of Europe, and discover that France and great Britain have seized practically *all* the packages 'marked *North Africa*' and France has the biggest fistfull. Thus in a consideration of Tripolitania's future, we must know something of the policy of France not only in Barbary, but in its relation to its scheme for a vast African Empire.

Ever since the Red Cross knights planted their flaring standards over Acre and Ascalon, and St. Louis raised his banners on the heights of Carthage, Frank has been the synonym of European to the Orientals of North Africa. When France's policy of territorial acquisition throughout Africa is correlated and surveyed as a whole, one may well be astounded at its wonderful foresight and the stupendous character of its scheme: a scheme which undoubtedly was that of bringing about the eventual acquisition of more than two-thirds of the entire continent of Africa, a terri-

Bonchamp, who advanced from Abyssinia westward to meet him in the upper Nile basin.

The object of this expedition was essentially a political one. French aims in Lower Egypt being blocked by Britain, a footing in upper Egypt would not only strengthen its position there, and perhaps through Abyssinia eventually give France an outlet to the western coast, but would block Britain's plan of an empire from the Cape to Cairo. At Fashoda the *west-east* trail of the Gaul crossed the *north-south* course of the Saxon—two stupendous schemes of empire diametrically opposed to one another. Someone had to give way and the result was the Fashoda incident.

The fact that this affair engendered the bitterest feelings and all but involved the two Channel nations in war goes far to prove the importance to each of the strategic value of that territory. Blocked at this point France seemed to redouble her efforts in Morocco, which since the fortifying of Gibraltar and the opening of the Suez Canal by the British, made Morocco—the golden orange of Barbary—more than ever a desirable possession to the Powers, more particularly Great Britain and France.

French intrigues and attempts to create a paramount French sentiment among the Moroccans were most successful. Constantly, consistently, France picked up the threads Great Britain dropped and wove a network of schemes about her quarry, extending her schools, protection policy, government loans, influence and western Algerian border line, whenever opportunity offered. The revolution of the Pretender in 1902–4 brought about conditions which were considered to so have imperilled the lives of the hated *nsara* (foreigners) that some solution for their protection seemed necessary. By strange coincident the time also seemed ripe for an understanding as to first claims on *Al-Mogreb*, the Land of the West, and the claimants naturally dwindled down to two principals—Great Britain and France.

Then came the Anglo-French treaty of 1904, far-reaching in its geographical and political significance—adjusting all unsettled territorial questions upon which Great Britain

and France differed and strange as it may seem this very nation which thwarted France at Fashoda, now gave her a privileged position in Morocco for certain concessions regarding Egypt. One of those clauses not only leaves it to France to carry out all administrative, economic, financial and *military* reforms required to preserve order in Morocco, so long as British treaty rights are left intact, but Article IX reads:—"The two governments agree to accord to one another their diplomatic support in order to obtain the execution of the clauses of the present declaration regarding Egypt and Morocco." The stupendous character and scope of this treaty in my opinion makes it one of the most important ever made. Thus it came about that France in 1908 instituted military proceedings on the western coast with Britain's backing, and only an ineffectual protest from Germany.

From Tangier, two hundred miles down the Atlantic seaboard of Morocco you come upon a little seaport town of sun-dried bricks, wood and whitewash, save for the town walls and some important buildings in the European quarter which are of stone:—*Dar el Beida* the Arabs call it, Casablanca say the Spaniards. Here France found her *casus belli* in a mob outbreak and lost no time in following her advantage by landing a large force numbering over five thousand troops, many being from the famous Algerian corps—the Spahis Saharien.

No one who knows anything of the French policy in Algeria and Tunis could have accepted without reservation the reports of the bombardment and invasion of Casablanca. Flaring headlines announced plans to "Massacre all Christians," to drive "the infidels" into the sea; "the European Quarter is Threatened;" "Tribesmen are gathering in the hills in overpowering numbers" and "The irresistible tidal wave of uprising is about to break forth." It is safe to say that the French press "colored" these reports.

That there was an aggressive element among the Moors, there is no doubt; but with the promise of the Moorish governor of Casablanca to maintain order, a strong French

guard at the consulates and city gates would probably have met all immediate need of protection. Instead, a large French force aggressively entered the town to quiet the rioting, and not only the suburbs but the town itself was shelled by the warships.

This naturally precipitated matters, for the news spread like wildfire that the long contemplated invasion of Morocco by the hated French had begun. The farmer tribes, with Algeria, Igli, and Figuig fresh in their minds, gathered their bands together and hastened to the coast. With what result? A few French soldiers were killed and wounded, while hundreds of Moroccans were slaughtered before the machine guns and shell-fire of the French.

France chose the psychological moment to definitely continue its inevitable acquisition of Morocco. Europe was admirably adjusted to that end. Britain's understanding with Russia and Austria, France's own regard for Italy's interests in Tripoli and its control of Spanish finances, left Germany alone in the opposing field. And the previous forced European policy of mutual, jealous forbearance toward Morocco was at an end, and another decade will see Moroccans using "inventions of the devil" and the country prospering.

Six years ago I ventured to predict the futility of the French "*penetration pacifique*" of Morocco, that not until more blood had been shed and the sacred mosque of *Djidid* in Fez falls like that of Sidi Okda at Kairwan (under the French civil governor), will the country begin in earnest its march to civilization—to the tune of the *Marseillaise*.

Having previously acquired Algeria, a little over twenty years ago, just as Italy was spreading her wings over Tunisia, France alighted on the quarry. French policy in these two states will serve as a good criterion by which to forecast the future of Morocco. The narrow streets, mud walls, and sun-dried bricks will give way to broad boulevards and modern houses;—the cry of the donkey driver to the squawk of the electric tram,—the wild mountain trails and river fords to splendid roads and modern bridges, the hand-

fallow of the Arab farmer to the steam thresher, the fallow land of mountain and valley to extensive plantations.

Also will come the evils of civilization, to sharpen the Moroccan's wits and dull his scant morality. France will carry out in Morocco, as in Algeria and Tunisia, a discriminating policy—not only against the Moroccan but against all who ply their trade in Morocco who are not Frenchmen. This has been its policy in North Africa and there is no reason to believe that it will stop at the Moroccan boundary line, despite certain conditions of the Anglo-French treaty. Nor for the same reason are we to suppose that France will refrain from fortifying or using as naval bases certain towns on the Moroccan seaboard.

When France has added to its African colonies the 170,000 square miles of Morocco and assimilated to some extent the 900,000 of people it will have won one of its greatest diplomatic contests, its richest colony, and its most valuable strategic position in the Mediterranean.

The Moroccan, as the Algerian and Tunisian, on the whole, will benefit by French colonization; military protection will safeguard his interests from warring tribes; regular wages, schools, and courts will be some of the things which he will obtain in exchange for the sacrifice of his country and his wild independence, in this last crusade of the Frank; and France will administer lessons to him in "liberté, égalité, fraternité" and continue to give its attention to the realization of its dream of an African Empire.

THE FUTURE TRIPOLITANIA

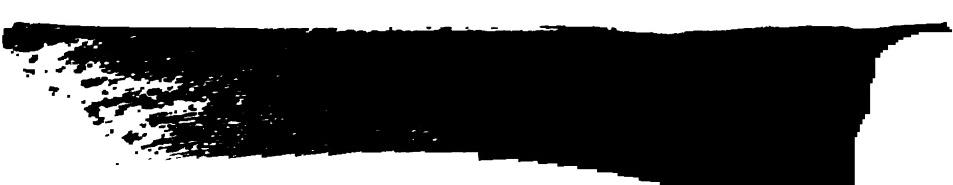
The productive character of the Sudan and Central Africa is well known; but of the Sahara—what of those great, limitless, sun-baked desert reaches?

The French, to some extent, will reclaim it; that which they do not reclaim will be necessary for them to control for commercial and political reasons. That which is reclaimed for agricultural purposes will be done by irrigation—through the artesian well and the conservation of vast water supplies during the rains.

Should Tripolitania seem necessary to France in the furtherance of its scheme of African Empire, and she can annex it without too great a loss of prestige or policy, the French will *acquire* Tripolitania. But at present there is the bugbear of the unspeakable Turk,—then again Italy, chagrined and angered at the French Tunisian seizure has turned her attention to a garden plot at her very back door, where today, next to Turkey, her interests and influence unquestionably predominate. To make future occupation secure, however, Italy must make some tacit arrangement with France for a free hand, and prevail upon the other Powers to admit her interests there; perhaps she has. It is to be hoped, however, that the accession of Mehemed V. to the Sultanate of Turkey is the beginning of a new and better order of things, for both Turkey and her colonies.

Through drought, inertia, and unbearable taxation, Tripoli's agricultural resources barely keep her inhabitants from starvation. Her caravan trade is leaking out to the south by way of the Niger, and what little intermittently trickles northward is unstable because of the insecurity of the routes. Thus the great decrease in her leading exports reflects unfavorably on the general commercial prosperity of Tripoli, but more saliently emphasizes the need of developing her agricultural resources. Turkey seems not only indifferent but averse to improvements of any kind, apparently not wishing to encourage either native or foreign interests, thereby attracting attention to the country. Yet with a jealous eye Turkey guards this province—perhaps that she may continue to squeeze from the flat, leathern money-pouches of the Arabs more miserable verghi and tithes; perhaps that she may maintain a door between Constantinople and the hinterland of Tripoli, through which to secretly replenish her supply of slaves.

Along the rough trails back in the plateau lands and the mountains of the Jebel Tarhuna and the Gharian, I have occasionally run across great broken-down coffer-dams. Along the coast I have ridden for the greater part of a day over the fine-crumbled remains of Roman towns, now and again clattering over the tessellated pavement of all that



was left of some Roman villa which had overlooked the blue expanse of the Mediterranean,—the dams tell of the previous conservation of vast water supplies which once irrigated the fertile hills and plateau upon which a great Roman and native population depended. Other evidence is not wanting which tells us that in those days much of the land was thickly wooded, largely cultivated, and populated.

It is claimed that since those days great climatic changes must have occurred to so alter the face of the land and convert it to its present, arid, sun-dried condition. In those times it is said that the rainfall was perennial—far in excess of the present, and apparently sufficient for all purposes of agriculture; so much so, that some modern travellers have sought to ascribe the construction of these dams to the necessity of providing against periodical inundations.

It is difficult, however, not to believe that the works in question which were thrown across wadis at different levels served as reservoirs for purposes of irrigation, as is shown today by the existence of remains of similar dams in eastern Palestine.

There is every reason to believe that it will be a Christian European power which will open for the Tripolitan that sesame which will arouse him from his inertia and usher him into fields where he will take new heart and courage; and Tripoli will be reclaimed from the Desert.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION OF FINLAND

By Aino Malmberg, Helsingfors, Finland

When Finland came under Russian rule in 1809, Tsar Alexander I solemnly confirmed and ratified the fundamental laws and rights of the Grand Duchy, which it had enjoyed under the Swedish kings, and granted a constitution to Finland. That was the beginning of the life of a self-conscious Finnish nation.

Up to 1899 we were left to mind our own business without much interference from the Russian government. The results were wonderfully good, as I shall try to show later on, and the whole period forms a curiously clear object lesson to the great powers which are so ready to "protect" small nations on the ground that they are not "fit to govern themselves."

In 1809 Finland was a very sparsely populated and extremely poor country. Six sevenths of the population spoke an uncultured language with no literature save some miserably translated religious works. The ruling class spoke Swedish, education was obtainable only in Swedish, and that was also the only official language. Considering how very unpromising was such a beginning, the state of development in 1899 seems almost a miracle.

Finland of 1899 was a prosperous country with a very highly developed educational system, a Diet of its own, its own monetary and fiscal arrangements, a Finnish army, etc. In civilization it stood on the same level as the Scandinavian countries, in some respects even higher. The Finnish language was cultured and we had writers both in Finnish and in Swedish of whom we were justly proud. Finnish art and Finnish music showed a distinctly original character and had won a good name in Europe.

But, of course, the medal had another side also. All the drawbacks of a quiet, happy life in petty circumstan-

were clearly visible in Finland. We managed our affairs so well that we could easily do without the world outside. As there is no life without strife it was but natural that we should have our struggles also. Even in that respect fate had been benevolent to Finland providing it with two nationalities and two languages, Finnish and Swedish, which quite naturally began a fierce fight for supremacy. Thus we had no need for "movements" from the big countries, and could spend our surplus energy on our own dear language quarrel. Being a highly civilized nation we also felt the longing to suppress people weaker than ourselves, and to let them feel our superiority. Happily enough we had a handful of poor Jews, immigrated from Russia, and we tried our best to make life a burden to them. Thus Finland could boast of being a good miniature picture of the great European nations, bearers of civilization and progress.

As to our relations to Russia, they were those of perfect, naïve, sentimental loyalty. Tsar Alexander III who never dared to show himself openly to his own people, traveled safely every summer in Finland, and was received there with flowers, and songs, and enthusiastic ovations.

As for the fight for freedom in which our unhappy Russian brothers and sisters were engaged, Finland had no sympathy to give. We felt comfortable, so why should we bother?

The air indeed had become rather stale and wanted ventilation.

The ventilation came, but in the form of a violent tempest that threatened to devastate little Finland.

On February 15, 1899, Tsar Nicholas II issued a manifesto which completely violated the constitution of Finland, most solemnly ratified and sworn by his gracious self some years earlier. The manifesto proposed to remove from the Finnish Senate and Diet the legislative power of dealing with any question in which Russian interests of any kind might be implicated. And very soon it was clear that this meant all questions whatever!

The blow was absolutely unexpected and the effect of it was stupefying. The Finns with all their weaknesses and all their civilization are passionately attached to their

country. I do not mention this as some sort of proof of high development. On the contrary, I am told that for instance the Esquimaux love their cold country intensely, and I know that the Laplanders do. It seems to be a trick of Nature to bind us northern people to our poor soil with bands that we never can break without tearing our hearts too.

When it became known what had happened everyone seemed to feel it as a personal sorrow. I have heard many comments upon and much laughing at the fact that Finnish women dressed in mourning. Well, I understand that it must have seemed to an outsider both sentimental and affected, but certainly it was natural at that time. We were sentimental, and we were naïve. There was no mutual agreement, but it was natural to everybody personally to dress in black. Sorrow had come to Finland.

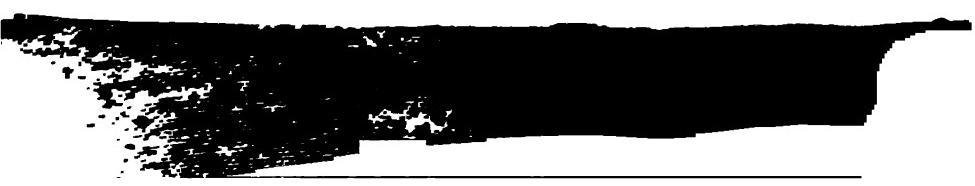
The first act of the Finnish nation was also utterly childish: it was decided to send an address to the Tsar! The good Tsar, the righteous one who loved us, his poor, loyal subjects, and who had sworn to keep our laws, *he* could not know what had happened. Certainly he would hasten to help us as soon as he knew.

A deputation was sent to St. Petersburg carrying an address signed by more than 500,000 Finns.

The deputation was not received, neither was the address.

It began to dawn upon us that perhaps all our tear-dropping loyalty had been spent in vain. The fact became still clearer when some months later a similar address bearing the most eminent names from all Europe was brought to the Tsar with exactly the same results.

Now began a time of suffering for Finland. A new Governor General—Bobrikoff—had been sent to our country. He was one of those typical Russian brutes whom the Tsar sends to “pacify” his vast empire. The “pacifying” of a perfectly peaceful country like Finland must have been a hard task indeed for a Russian official who wanted to win glory and reputation from Nicholas II. But Bobrikoff was the right man, and he was determined to do his best.



The energy with which he applied the usual Russian methods was marvellous. Domiciliary searches were arranged all over the country, absolutely peaceful citizens, many of whom had never had anything whatever to do with politics, were seized, sent into exile, or placed in Russian prison dens. Newspapers were suppressed, the Finnish army was dispersed, loyal officials were dismissed, meetings prohibited, schools interfered with.

It would require too much space to give a full account of the area of Bobrikoff's activity. "Stolypin's necktie" was not yet invented, but I think that was the only one of the Russian blessings not introduced into Finland.

The Finns resisted all temptations and the only form of resistance was a passive one.

But it was a wonderful time of awakening and development.

As a natural consequence of the suppression of newspapers, secret literature began to flourish and had an immense influence. The Russian fight for freedom had begun afresh, and now it was followed with the keenest interest in Finland, because at last we had begun to understand that freedom in Russia also meant freedom in Finland, and so long as autocracy was alive, we had no hope. We had learnt how much imperial words and promises meant in real life.

As time went on the state of things grew worse. In 1904 we had reached a stage of complete autocracy. Then something happened that always happens when all civilized means show themselves ineffective to check criminal tyranny. The Governor General Bobrikoff was shot by a young Finn, Eugene Schauman. Those who understand the story of William Tell understand also what Eugene Schauman's deed meant to Finland.

Times now began to change for the better. The new Governor General, Prince Obolensky, had certainly not a better reputation than Bobrikoff—among other merits he could boast of having had several peasants flogged to death when he was Governor General in Harkoff—but he was more of a coward and dared not display too great an energy in his methods of suppression. Then the Japanese war was



growing more and more disastrous for Russia, and in Russia itself the movement for freedom was developing. It became clear that a change was coming, but what it was we could not quite understand.

The movement in Russia had grown into open revolution and the wave of freedom was sweeping from east to west.

Then something happened in Finland which stands quite alone in the history of mankind. I mean the Great National Strike, as it is usually called for fear of the word Revolution.

It was the end of October in 1905. Rumors of the Russian revolution seemed to come nearer and nearer, and the excitement grew almost unendurable. What did we expect? Nobody knew.

A railway strike had begun in Russia and was spreading westward. Soon it touched Finland and the next stage was that Finland took part in it. But that was only the beginning. On the last day of October the whole Finnish nation struck.

On the very same day all expressions of social activity came to a dead standstill throughout Finland. We had no schools, no banks, no trains, no factories, no trams, no gas, no post—nothing. Everyone of us, men and women, adults and children refused to do anything for a whole week.

I do not even try to explain how it was possible, because it cannot be explained. Now, afterward, even we who were in the midst of it can hardly understand it. An amiable Puck had touched us making us dream of the Millenium, where all people knew each other and were friends, and where there were no different classes and no hostile races.

It really was so during that week of dreams and deep emotions. In Helsingfors where I happened to be, there are Finnish, Swedish, and Russian Schools, in which the children had always been more or less hostile to each other. Now they walked in long processions together singing the Marseillaise. The grown up people behaved in the same way. Strangers spoke to each other in the streets as if they were old friends, and everybody seemed suddenly to hav

acquired a deep human understanding of the minds of each other.

There was no leader and no organizer of the strike, but somehow everybody seemed to know that now the right moment had come for the final struggle. Or perhaps "struggle" is not the right expression for a state of things when everyone abstained from an struggle.

A deputation went from Helsingfors to St. Petersburg to express the wishes of Finland to the Tsar. Everything we wanted was granted at once. It has never been very difficult to get promises from Nicholas II!

The old laws were restored, general adult suffrage was introduced and the Diet was hereafter to consist of one Chamber only instead of four Estates as before. Thus every man and woman of twenty-four years of age had now the right to vote and to be elected to the Diet. The number of deputies was to be two hundred.

It was all, and even more than we could expect. But there was from the very beginning a curious sense of uncertainty, and every one who was not childishly sanguine understood that this was only a truce and not a peace.

This was very soon proved.

In Russia repression began a week after their liberties had been granted, in Finland the truce lasted a little longer. Up to June, 1908, Finland was troubled but little. Those three years show a time of incessant work and progress in all departments of social and political life, and it may be said without exaggeration that they meant more for the political education of Finland than the thirty years of peace before 1899.

A new force of which we knew little before 1905 had come to the surface and put its mark upon the future development—the growing power of Socialism. The sufferings of Bobrikoff's times, had of course had a radicalizing effect upon all political parties, but none of us had an idea of how much they had helped the growth of Socialism, not even the Socialists themselves. As an example I may mention that a week before the first general election to our Diet in 1907 I asked one of the most prominent members of the

Social Democratic Party how many Socialists he expected to be elected. "Oh," he said, "I should think we can safely count upon forty members."

They got eighty.

Today the number of Socialists is eighty-seven out of two hundred.

The Diet began its work with vigor and enthusiasm, but upon one pretext or another the Tsar dissolved it time after time. So instead of having a Diet elected for three years we had three elections in one year.

In the first Diet we had nineteen woman deputies and their number has not varied very much since. Once they were as many as twenty-six and once only seventeen. Now they are again nineteen.

Reaction began to hamper progress more and more. At first the Russian Government tried to give their actions a certain legal color, but that was of course inconvenient in the long run. In 1908 the first brutal breaking of our Constitution took place when the Tsar issued a manifesto stating that every question or proposal with regard to Finland must come before the Russian Council of Ministers, and not as formerly, before the Secretary of State for Finland. Last year the Tsar decided that Finnish matters, involving Imperial interests, were to be decided by the Russian Government and in spite of the strong protests of the Cadets and the Labor members, the reactionary Duma passed this bill.

According to Russian interpretation there seem to be no matters at all which do not involve Imperial interests. Educational institutions, the press, taxes, the fiscal system, banks, the post, the administration of justice, etc., all have come under the same heading.

When the Duma gave its sanction to this shameless violation of the Finnish Constitution the notorious member of the Black Hundreds, Purishkevitch, exclaimed triumphantly "Finis Finlandiae!" There is no doubt that he expressed the secret wish of Stolypin and his hirelings.

The Finnish Diet protested against the measure, and was dissolved. Now it is re-elected and will certainly be dissolved again after a short time. The Tsar seems to like the

farce of electing and dissolving—why, it is difficult to guess. Perhaps the comedy is meant to tire the Finns and to make them more pliable or—more likely—to deceive Europe as to Russia's real intentions.

In Finland as in the rest of Europe we often hear discussions on the question: *Why* does Russia want to crush Finland? The answers are generally of two kinds.

Those who pretend to possess a deep knowledge of the diplomatic secrets explain that Russia cannot suffer a "foreign" country some miles outside St. Petersburg. Finland must be Russified, because the honor and the safety of Russia require it. Besides, sooner or later Russia must find its way to an Atlantic harbor. The vast country with its enormous natural riches cannot be bottled up as it is at present—and the way to the Atlantic leads over Finland.

To this we Finns answer with another question: Is it really safer and more in conformity with Russian "honor" to have a hostile country outside St. Petersburg, than to have a loyal one? And is the way to the Atlantic easier through a hostile Finland than through a loyal Finland?

Well, but if Finland becomes Russified?

What does that "Russifying" mean?—Of course it means, not only the supremacy of the Russian language in Finland, but, principally, the bringing down of Finland to the Russian level.

I think an English writer Mr. MacCallum Scott, M. P., has hit the truth when he writes: "There is but one sure way of Russifying Finland, and that is by exterminating every Finn."

There are thousands of questions in which we Finns disagree and on which our different parties fight and quarrel, but there is one question in which there is only *one* party in Finland; the question of our Constitution and our Nationality. The talk of Russifying a country that stands higher in social and political development than Russia, is nonsense. The only thing Russia can do is to bring our finances and our legislation into disorder, and to create deep hatred in a nation that does not easily forget. There seems little doubt

that this is what the present Russian government intends to do.

The second answer we hear as an explanation of Russian politics in Finland, is this: Finland is a bad example. The Russian fighters for freedom have for years and years been pointing at Finland as a proof of what freedom and good legislation can do even in a poor and sparsely populated country. Why not give the same rights to other parts of the Empire?

This explanation seems more credible. It must, of course, be irritating for the reactionaries to hear that constant talk about the order, prosperity, and happiness that freedom has created in Finland, and the only way of silencing the inconvenient disturbers of public peace is to destroy the source of their argument.

"And what are the Finns going to do?" is the question we are asked every day.

I do not think we are going to do anything, but our passive resistance will be stronger than ever. We are not so depressed in spirit to-day as we were in 1899, because now it is perfectly clear to everybody that this state of things cannot last much longer. The Russian system is too rotten already, and the sufferings of the Russian people too horrible to be endured forever. The day is nearing rapidly when the Russian nation will shake away the terrible burden under which it is sighing at the present time, and then there is no doubt that Finland will know the moment when it also must demand the restoration of its ancient law and order.

ALBANIA: THE LAND OF THE EAGLE-PEOPLE

By Morris H. Turk, Ph.D.

Just one hundred years ago Lord Byron, in company with his friend, Mr. Hobhouse, was engaged in a tour of Albania, writing as he journeyed, the first and second Cantos of "Childe Harold's Pilgrimage." Upon its publication two years later the poet "awakened one morning and found himself famous." Much of the second Canto is given to a description of the wild and rugged land of Albania with its equally wild and rugged people. It is an interesting fact that the poem which first gave Byron his fame was thus produced in Albania and had for its subject matter that picturesque land and people.

Contemporary with Lord Byron the historian Gibbon declared that Albania although "within sight of Italy was less known than the interior of America." And it still holds true that Albania is comparatively an unknown land. Every week great steamships from New York and other world-ports pass almost within sight of the wild Albanian coast. It is only six hours across the blue Adriatic to Italy. A two days' journey, even by the leisurely good-natured continental trains will take a Parisian or a Berliner to this belated land of the Eagle-People. In the very heart of European civilization, yet untouched by it, Albania lags five centuries behind the times.

The cause is not difficult to find; Albania is a part of the Turkish Empire, and for centuries her people have lived under Turkish oppression. Geographically Albania is simply a general term for the western part of European Turkey; the definite boundaries being the Adriatic Sea on the west, Montenegro, Bosnia and Servia on the north and Greece on the south. There is no definite eastern boundary but Monastir is commonly regarded as the gateway from

the East. With Austria to the northward, Italy just across the Adriatic and Greece adjoining on the south, all anxious to extend their spheres of influence in this unconquered country, the Turkish government, with territory repeatedly diminished elsewhere, has considered it wise to keep Albania as much as possible in the background of European politics. Accordingly a continual and composite program of armed invasion, official flattery, oppressive taxation and bribery has served to keep the Eagle-People in subjection. But the Albanians, while a subject race, have never been wholly conquered; and the greatest political problem of the Turkish Empire today is to hold the Albanians in hand.

Another factor which conspires to make Albania suffer from arrested development is found in the character of the country, a fair combination of rugged mountains and fertile valleys. Entrenched in their mountain strongholds the Albanians have administered endless defeat to successive Turkish armies, even those led by the sultan in person. On the other hand the fertile valleys have made the Albanians self-sufficient and generally independent of commerce. There is not a railroad in all Albania. Wagon roads are found only in a few of the more level sections of the country. The transportation system consists chiefly of pack horse caravans that wind over mountain trails which are always difficult and often dangerous. This lack of facilities for intercommunication has also added to the tribal feuds and prevented any national unity among the people. Thus has Albania been kept from any participation in the world's progress.

Although they are subjects of the Turkish sultan the Albanians are nevertheless a distinct people and boast a racial ancestry more ancient than that of Greece. The Eagle-People have constituted a puzzling problem for the ethnologists. Their racial record is in considerable measure both uncertain and obscure. There is no foundation however for a popular notion that the Albanian is a composite of modern bloods. The formation of the skull and other distinct racial characteristics indicate an approximately pure ancestry and certainly one of great antiquity. The con-

census of scholarly opinion is that the Albanians were derived from the ancient Pelasgan race, the oldest race of Europe. More particularly, the Albanians are considered to be the direct descendants of the ancient Illyrians with an admixture of Macedonians on the east and Epirotes on the south. Thus the Albanians can justly claim to be one of the oldest and purest races in Europe; and this is further attested by the fact that they are a most virile people.

The Albanian language gives additional support to this theory of Albanian ancestry. The language is not at all an Hellenic dialect as is popularly supposed. The Albanian forms one of the eight chief divisions of the Aryan or Indo-Germanic group of languages, and descends directly from the ancient Illyrian tongue. This is indicated by the present day fact that the Gheg dialect in northern Albania, which is the geographical duplicate of the southern part of ancient Illyricum, is purer and has less structural change than the Tosk dialect in the south which shows the influence of the Greek. The Gheg dialect is also more primitive in form. Both Gheg and Tosk dialects are loaded with loan-words, those of the former being borrowed largely from the Turkish while the latter have been derived from the Greek. In the days of the empire when Albania was a Roman province the Albanian language was modified not only by the addition of Latin words but also by changes in forms and inflexions. But the entire lack of a written language makes it difficult to trace the development of the modern Albanian tongue. Of literature Albania has not a shred.

The Albanians have an heroic but unheralded history. They have given to the world Alexander the Great, and Crispi the Prime Minister of Italy. Both these men are of direct Albanian origin. The great national hero, however, is Skanderbeg, who in the fifteenth century destroyed the Turkish armies which invaded Albania. During his lifetime Albania was independent. But after his death Turkey re-established her oppressive rulership; and with the exception of a partial freedom in southern Albania secured in the eighteenth century by Ali Pasha, the Albanians have continued to exist under the hard hand of the Sultan.

Albania is a country of fascinating interest and the few adventurous travellers who have penetrated the mountain fastnesses have been richly repaid for the discomforts and dangers of the journey. The mountain scenery has a wild grandure not easily put into words. Here are pioneer studies for the geologist, the historian and the archeologist—enough to last a life-time. The country is rich in unexplored interest of every kind. The old Via Egnatia is an illustration. In the days of the empire Albania was a Roman province, forming the connecting country between Italy and the far east. The Via Appia led from Rome down to ancient Brindisium. Directly across the Adriatic on the Albanian coast was Dyrrachium, now known as Durazzo. In the time of the Caesars it was an important seaport with a hundred thousand people. Today it has less than four thousand. It was at Dyrrachium that the famous Via Egnatia began, as a continuation of the Via Appia, leading eastward through the winding mountain passes to Thrace, and thence to ancient Byzantium (now Constantinople), the gateway to Asia. The roadway was built as a great compact ribbon perhaps eight feet in width, but varying, composed of foot-square stone blocks. Culverts spanning small streams were of heaviest masonry. The bridges are a marvel of beauty and strength. One particularly fine specimen crosses the River Skumbi about four hours' journey east of Elbassan. With the exception of some slight repairs at the southern entrance the bridge is as perfect as when the Roman engineers builded it twenty centuries ago. No modern stone bridge can compare with it in the graceful curves of its arching roadway or with the effect of lightness combined with great strength. Over this bridge and along this Via Egnatia went Cicero on his way to banishment at Thessalonika. Here journeyed Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, going to his martyrdom at Rome. Over this great road, the most important highway of antiquity, passed the legions of the West and the commerce of the East.

The people of Albania are a wonderful people, virile, clean of blood above the usual, and possessed of rugged, heroic virtues worthy of a better civilization. They are

high-spirited and call themselves the Eagle-People. They have a fine sense of honor. An Albanian's word is to him a sacred obligation and he will keep it in the face of every difficulty. The Albanian kavas or guard of an American family in Turkey was once a brigand. But this is nothing against his integrity and loyalty in his present position. He has given his pledge to protect the lives and property of his employers and he can be entirely depended upon to do it to the extent of his life. It is an obligation of honor for an Albanian to keep his word. Albanians are commonly employed as guards and messengers in banks, and in similar positions of trust and responsibility. Abdul Hamid's body-guard was composed entirely of stalwart, fearless Albanians. The sultan was safe in their keeping not because of their affection or respect for him, but because they had given the "word of honor" to protect him.

The Albanian is also possessed with a fierce but worthy chivalry. He has a high regard for women and they are everywhere treated with consideration and courtesy, of course within the limitations of oriental standards. The women of Albania work in the fields and carry rather more than their fair share of the burdens of the family. But the woman is regarded as the queen in her home. She has full authority and even arranges the marriages of her sons and daughters, who render her a fine-spirited obedience and reverence quite unknown in the Western world.

The population of Albania is not definitely known for no census has ever been taken. It is estimated that there are about two and a half millions of Albanians in Albania, with several hundred thousand in southern Greece, and smaller colonies in Roumania, Egypt and America. The number of Albanians in the United States is variously estimated from twenty thousand upward.

There are two well-defined classes of Albanians: the Ghegs in the north and the Tosks in the south. Similarly northern Albania is known as Ghegaria and southern Albania as Toskeria. In temperament, language, costume and custom there is a wide variation in the peoples of the north and south. The Tosk is milder in spirit and is less inclined

to reckless murder. His speech is influenced by the softer Greek and his costume includes the Grecian fustanelle or plaited linen skirt. The clan spirit is not so strong as in the north, and the southern Albanian affects more of the European manners. He takes some pride in saying "a la Franc," a general term for anything modern and progressive from clothes to character, and describes the belatedness of himself or his people by the antithetical phrase, "a la Turk." The Tosks are quite ready for the advantages of civilization and respond quickly to any opportunity for personal or social uplift. Kortcha the geographical capital of Toskeria enjoys the double distinction of being the most progressive city in Albania and the cleanest city in European Turkey. The better class of people wear European clothes, and a steam flour mill adds a touch of commercial civilization. But the grain is still trodden out by horses on circular threshing floors.

The Ghegs in the north are wild and rugged in temperament, possessed of a fierce spirit of independence both personal and tribal. Nowhere is life quite so cheap, and it is cheap enough all over Albania. Shooting is a fine art and the soul of the Albanian commonly escapes through a bullet hole. In one particular the Albanian is entirely modern to the hour: he carries, and uses, either a Mauser or a Martini, and that too of the latest and most improved model. This holds true of all Albanians, but intensively so among the fierce and fearless men of the north. The costume of the Gheg has no patience for the Grecian skirt. His close-fitting trousers of heavy white woolen fabric, curiously adorned by broad black braidings, not unfittingly suggest the markings of a tiger. The customs are wildly primitive. The clan or tribal system prevails, and endless petty warfares are the accompaniment. The Albanian language finds its purest expression in the Gheg dialect which retains more clearly than the Tosk the forms and flexions of the ancestral Illyrian. So different are the dialects of Gheg and Tosk that the people of north and south have some difficulty in conversation. No definite boundary separates the two classes of Eagle-People; but the River Skumbi, flowing west-

ward past Elbasan suggests a natural division of the country.

Elbasan is geographically, but unofficially, the capital city of Albania. It is centrally located and combines the elements of both Tosk and Gheg civilization—or the lack of it. It is a city of fascinating interest, utterly oriental, and practically untouched by the rest of the world. It is accessible only by pack-horse and mountain trail. The street life is picturesque above description. Thousands of vagrant ducks constitute, like the former dogs of Constantinople, the only sanitary commission of the city. Silk of rare texture and striking in design and color is woven on crude hand looms in the homes. Tobacco of remarkable sweetness is openly prepared and sold in defiance of the Turkish governmental monopoly. The citizens of Elbasan have a progressive spirit and if opportunity offered would eagerly adopt the institutions and methods which secure the welfare of other cities. But, as is the case with most of the Albanian cities, the combination of inaccessibility and stubborn Turkish opposition to progress keeps Elbasan in medieval belatedness.

For Turkey realizes that her chief hope of retaining Albanian territory lies in keeping the Albanians in their past and present condition of ignorance and superstition. Consequently no schools have been provided, no modern inventions have been permitted, no opportunity for the smallest progress or uplift has been afforded. The poverty of the Albanians, both materially and spiritually, is pathetic; the more so because it is so opposed to the Albanian spirit. The Albanian people are quick to appreciate and respond to any challenge of a better way. In a fine sense they are an ambitious people. And they need only a fair opportunity to establish themselves in a better civilization.

That the Albanians are not free from grievous evils must be conceded. They have their besetting sins like other peoples. But their vices are, to a greater extent than in more progressive nations, the perversion of virtues. An instance of this is found in the blood-feuds which constitute the greatest curse of the country. This custom of private vengeance obtains to some degree in all sections of Albania.

But in some localities, especially in the north country, the blood-feuds make great and endless slaughter. Thousands of men are thus murdered every year and the Turkish government seems powerless to prevent it. Now this vicious system originated in the Albanian sense of honor and love of justice. But when the Turkish government centuries ago failed to even attempt to administer justice and punish criminals, the Eagle-People were gradually forced to protect themselves and to enforce some code of personal vengeance. This in time developed or rather degenerated into a system of retributive murder, supported by a false and artificial code of personal and family honor. But with all its inhumanity and falsity the blood-feud crudely involves two primitive but high ideals for the Albanian: his regard for justice and his sense of honor. The Albanian's vices result chiefly from the misdirection or perversion of his virtues.

The religion of the Albanian has little dynamic relation to his character or his conduct. He carries his religion rather lightly and it is little more than the outer garment of custom. This does not mean that the Albanian is incapable of religion in its deep and vital interests. It means only that he has been unfortunate in his religious environment. Of religion as an experience of intrinsic worthfulness, with a moral content and a divine schedule the Albanian knows practically nothing. The only religion he is acquainted with "has a string to it" and a price withal. From one-half to two-thirds of the Albanians are Mohammedans. This does not imply that the Moslem faith has taken root in the Albanian character. The Albanian has simply adopted the official religion of Turkey as an instrument of political privilege. The right to bear arms and other temporal advantages accrue to holders of the Moslem faith, and the Albanian is a good deal of a pragmatist. As a matter of form and as an easy means to highly desirable ends the Albanian is a Moslem. In fact he is religiously indifferent.

Of the remainder of the Albanian population more than one half are of the Greek Orthodox faith and less than one-half are Roman Catholics. The Greek Church naturally predominates in the south where Greek influences, religious

and otherwise, filter across the boundaries. The ministries of the Greek Church are heavily burdened with superstitious rites, and the clergy are all too frequently both ignorant and bigoted. The Roman Catholics in the north fare little better. All three religious ministries, Mohammedanism, the Greek Church and the Roman Catholic faith have been thrust upon the Albanian from without and none of them have entered his life as a dynamic of righteousness. Some of the more thoughtful Albanians are beginning to see this fact and to realize the necessity of some religious ministry which will invest life with high moral and spiritual ideals and become a force in the uplift of the people. Among all Albanians who have learned at all of the better civilizations there can be seen an indefinable yearning for the finer things of the spirit.

This is true not in any narrow pietistic sense, but in the inclusive meaning of aspirations which are divinely high and wide. The general character of this spirit of uplift among the Albanians is shown in the instant use of all means of culture and education made available by the Turkish revolution and reestablishment of the Constitution. As soon as "liberty, equality, fraternity and justice" were proclaimed the Albanians eagerly undertook to translate these ideals into fact and experience. Everywhere Albanian clubs were organized; not for purposes bibulous or gastronomic, nor for political intrigue, but for the concrete work of lifting Albanian life to a higher level. The club became a clearing house of means and methods for social welfare. Many clubs organized and maintained entirely at the club's expense, schools for boys and young men. Other clubs assisted in the establishment of newspapers. In this fraternal work all minor differences of religious faith or family feud were overlooked; and Albania from north to south began to unfold in a new life. The Albanians themselves could hardly believe that at last the door of opportunity had opened to them. At last they were to be allowed to use their own language, and to satisfy at least in some degree the craving of the people for the truth that makes men free.

The first step was to issue a call for an Albanian Congress to be held in Elbasan. In the latter part of August, 1909, delegates from every part of Albania answered the call, coming long and difficult journeys over dangerous mountain trails. As soon as the Congress assembled it was heartily agreed to subordinate all other questions to the supreme problem of education. With remarkable wisdom and insight it was unanimously agreed that a Normal School was the immediate and basal necessity; for with the previous lack of schools there were few Albanians fitted to teach. A company of experienced educators could not have grasped the situation more intelligently or disposed of it more quickly. For then and there those Albanians out of their hardship and oppression subscribed the equivalent of fifteen hundred dollars to get the project under way; and two months later the necessary balance of the money was subscribed and the Normal School was opened in the Club Building in Elbasan. At last the door of opportunity was open. It seemed too good to be true.

It was. Within a year the Normal School was closed, all the boys' schools were abolished, every newspaper was suppressed, the Albanian clubs were disrupted and the old régime of heartless Turkish oppression had returned in full force with all its high-handed iniquity. It is a bitter story, a story of shameless injustice on the part of the Young Turks who seem to have inherited, after all, the irreproachable inhumanity of their fathers. The injustice of the present persecution of the Albanians is peculiarly atrocious from the fact that in both revolutions, that of 1908 and 1909, the Albanians had a leading part. To the Albanian officers and soldiers more than to those of any other people is due the overthrow of the old Turkish régime. The insurrection originated in Albania, and the first volunteers to service were Niazi Bey and his men, Albanians of Resna. The backbone of the revolution was Albanian leadership and valor. And yet when the Young Turks are established in the new régime of "liberty, equality, fraternity and justice," they shamelessly deny the benefits of the Con-

stitution to the very people who made it effective or possible.

First an effort was made to thwart the educational plans of the Albanians by opposing the use of the Albanian language in the schools. Failing in this the order was issued that only Arabic should be used for the written or printed Albanian language. As there is no relation whatever between the Arabic and the Albanian tongues such a requirement was as impossible as unreasonable. The basis of the demand was loyalty to the Mohammedan faith, the official religion of the Empire. Most of the Moslem Albanians, however, wore their Mohammedanism too lightly to be coerced by such artificial authority. Moreover, the insincerity of the issue was already apparent in the long-standing toleration of the Greek language as used in the Greek Orthodox Church. The Greek Church has had and yet retains an informal and semi-official standing in the Turkish administration of Albania.

The language controversy while creating some local disturbances did not lead to any high-handed persecution. Later, a controversy over the administration of taxes in northern Albania became an occasion for a military campaign. This was in direct violation of an agreement of long standing between the Albanians and the Turks. A former revolution resulted in the agreement of the sultan to the proposition that taxes raised in Albania should be expended in Albania for the benefit of Albanians. It is said that it was the failure or refusal of the Young Turk régime to respect this clear contract that led to the conflict in northern Albania. The result is as yet indeterminate. But a by-product of this contest opened the way for radical action on the part of the Turks. Reports, apparently well authenticated, came from the Ghegs that soldiers of the sultan had, under orders, committed unspeakable atrocities upon helpless women and old men. An Albanian paper in Elbasan printed a report of such deeds, but without hostile or even adverse criticism. Forthwith was begun a wholesale persecution under the guise of military law. The printer of the paper was court-martialed and sentenced to both fine and

imprisonment. The editor was exiled for life. The Normal and all other schools were closed. The missionaries of the American Board in Elbasan were ordered to Monastir. Several prominent Albanian leaders of high character and pure purpose escaped the country with their lives. Many beys who were associated in the uplifting movement were driven out, their property confiscated and their houses burned. The girls' school in Kortcha so bravely conducted for twenty years by the sacrificial work of Miss Kyrias was ordered closed, and the two American missionaries were threatened with harm or expulsion. In Elbasan hundreds of Albanians have been brutally beaten and the city is under the usual atrocious military administration of the Turks. An imperial irade has recently been issued ordering that forty Albanian leaders in various parts of the country shall be hanged in public in the near future. "Liberty, equality, fraternity and justice?" It was too good to be true—in Albania.

And what of the future? No one can say. It is not easy to prophesy in Turkey. It is a country of surprises. But the progress of mankind must eventually bring a better day for Albania. Just how or when it will come does not yet appear. There are several neighboring nations that would welcome an excuse or an opportunity to give the Eagle-People a civilization like their own. That the Albanian people may gain their own independence appears improbable but not impossible. The Albanians would doubtless be satisfied to continue under Turkish authority if only they could have their fair share of "liberty, equality, fraternity and justice." It seems unbelievable that the Turkish government should continue the short-sighted and self-defeating policy of persecution and oppression. The Albanians constitute the most virile race in the Turkish Empire. More than any other class of Turkish subjects they have served the sultan with honor and valor in peace and war. If the Young Turk government would only show some loyalty to the welfare of Albania the Eagle-People would develop into a source of tremendous strength for the integrity of the Empire. The Albanian is quick to respond to the challenge

THE ANCIENT NESTORIAN CHURCH AND ITS PRESENT INFLUENCE IN KURDISTAN

By E. W. McDowell, Vane, Turkey-in-Asia

The Honorable James Bryce in a recent lecture at Chautauqua emphasized the importance of the study of church history as being the cord that gives unity and continuity to all other history.

Scotland itself is a preëminent illustration in support of this statement. Eliminate the church from the history of the Scotch people and how impossible it would be for a future generation to trace the transition from Rob Roy to James Bryce.

Asia is no exception to this rule. When some future historian gives us a connected and adequate account of the Asiatic nations, religion will be found to be the cord which will give coherency and continuity to his narrative of the rise and fall of those nations.

It may not be out of connection, therefore, with your study of present day conditions in the near East, if you are reminded of what one branch of the Church of Jesus Christ once effected in Asia. It will be suggestive of the present day value of the church as a factor in the social and political regeneration of Turkey.

In this paper, therefore, I wish, first, to recall to your minds, very briefly, some of the leading facts in the history of the Nestorian Church; second to give you some impressions of the present day conditions in Kurdistan as related to the revolution; and, third to inquire what influence these Christians may be exerting over their Kurdish neighbors as affecting their minds favorably toward the new dispensation.

Let us take as our starting point the first Edinboro Missionary Conference held in the City of Antioch and reported

to us in the 14th Chapter of the Acts of the Apostles by Luke, the first church historian. It would not be a misnomer to call it a laymen's movement which resulted in the sending forth of that great lay missionary Paul the result of whose labors so profoundly affected the history of Europe.

As Paul was sent to the West so other missionaries were sent to the East. The labors of these missionaries speedily resulted in the establishing of the Chaldean Church among the Aramaic speaking people of Syria. It was only after the fifth century that the name Nestorian was fastened on this church by its opponents. The term the Nestorians themselves prefer and most frequently use, is the term—The Church of the East.

This church thus begotten in the first century of the Christian era has had a continuous existence to this present time. In the wide area of its field, in the extent of its labors, in the number of its adherents, in the celebrity of its schools, it at one time surpassed its sister church of Rome and bid fair to do for Asia what the Church of the West did for Europe.

It numbered among its leaders men of broad and liberal views. It is interesting to note that in the ancient ritual, still used by this church in their secluded valleys, prayer is offered for all branches of the Church of Christ, including the Church of Rome which is mentioned by name.

The greatest monument, of course, of these scholars is their translation of the Scriptures into the language of the common people,—the Peshitto version. Aside from this, there were also commentaries, remarkable some of them, for the practicality of their interpretation of Scripture, and devotional works as evangelical and spiritual as the writings of Spurgeon or Murray.

Fragments of these writings have survived the plunderings and burnings and wars of eighteen centuries. This literature of the Church of the East is to be found in the libraries of London and Paris and especially in the Vatican at Rome. Some of it is being preserved in the Presbyterian Mission Library in Urumia, Persia, and a fragment of it remains in the possession of the Nestorians themselves.

Scholars are still hoping to find in old church or mountain hut ancient manuscripts which will throw light upon the past.

But it is especially of the missionary activity of the Nestorian Church I would remind you.

The first few centuries saw a rapid extension of the church in Syria and Upper Mesopotamia, around the borders of Arabia and along the valleys of the Euphrates and the Tigris. In Kurdistan there remain very old church buildings, bearing the names of the Apostles who first brought the Gospel to those dark mountains, Mar Zia, Mar Tawoor, Mar Salathiel, Mar Yokhanan and others. It is with reverence that one creeps through the low doors of these old mountain churches into the dark interior where for over a thousand years the candle of worship has been kept dimly burning.

Persia and India were also entered at the same early date, and the adherents of the church numbered, it is estimated, several millions. In India there remain today some two hundred thousand of these Christians.—It is interesting to note that during these last few years delegations from the church in India have visited the Patriarch of the Nestorians in Kurdistan asking him to send a bishop among them with a view to restoring them to his jurisdiction and that he has sent such a bishop.

Going still further East traces of the footprints of the Nestorian missionary merchants, or merchant missionaries are to be found in Thibet and Mongolia. The marked likeness of the letters of the Mongolian alphabet to those of the Syriac suggests the possibility of literary labors among the Mongols.

The interest of their history culminates in China where the well-known Nestorian monument, bearing the date of 781 A.D. testifies to the existence of an influential Christian community in that land as early as the 7th century. The student of history will find exceedingly interesting the story of the reception of the Nestorian missionaries into China at the beginning of the 6th century by the Emperor T'ai Tsung and his Empress, both of whom were broadminded

and as generous and as good as they were wise. This was China's golden age.

This is a brief and very bare summary of the activities of the Church of the East. But it is sufficient to recall to our minds the noteworthy historical fact that as early as the 7th century the Gospel had been preached more or less thoroughly by the Church of the East throughout the greater part of Asia, from the Mediterranean to the Pacific and that it was done without the protection of a home government or the support of a missionary board.

What was the interrelationship of the Church and the states it entered, as Persia, India and China; how and to what extent they influenced one another; and what the influence upon history not only of what the church did but of what it might have done and failed to do—all this will constitute the interesting task of some future historians.

The causes of the decline and disintegration of this great church need not be entered upon here. It is enough to say that its fall parallels closely the fall of the churches in the West.

The rise of Mohammedanism is intimately associated as an effect with the corruption of the Nestorian Church and its failure to fulfill its great commission; and it was the sword of Mohammed that was made the instrument of the swift judgment that was visited upon it. It is interesting to observe how closely the armies of Islam followed the paths of the early missionaries of the cross and how they have occupied practically the same area. Before the fiery and fanatical zeal of Caliphs and barbarian conquerors this great and widespread church melted away as spring time snow before a mountain torrent until there remained only two small bodies holding to the Nestorian faith—the Malabar Christians of India and the Nestorians of Kurdistan.

It was a very precarious refuge the Nestorians found in those wild mountains, which lie on the border between Turkey and Persia and where today their young patriarch still rules over the small remnant of his flock.

The history of this exiled church deserves to be recorded as perhaps the most glorious in the annals of the Church of Christ.

Let there be recalled the long wars and the bloody conquests of the Saracen armies in the East and the West; the fear the very name Saracen inspired in the heart of European Christians down until even the little children learned to lisp the daily litany, "Have mercy Oh! Lord and save us from the Saracens." Recall the crusades when all Europe dashed itself in vain against the buckler of the Moslem only to leave him sevenfold more intense in his bigotry and fanatical hatred of all that bore the name of Christian. Recall all this long troubled period, then think of this little flock—so few, so feeble—cut off from their brethren of the West, away off there in the very heart of Islam, still keeping afloat from their mountain ramparts the banner of the cross. After the crusades they were despised by their Moslem neighbors, hated by them at times with a fanatical hatred, oppressed by them almost continuously and many times massacred by them, but amid these fires of persecution, fires which have been burning a thousand years and which still burn, they have been unswerving in their allegiance and devotion to the name of Jesus Christ.

There is another aspect to this heroic adherence to their faith. For centuries there was in operation a Moslem law which in case a member of a Christian family became a Moslem gave the entire estate of the family to the Moslem convert.

But against both the sword of Islam and such indirect seduction this exiled church has preserved its existence and maintained at least the form of worship. And not only against Mohammedanism has it had to struggle for existence. The Church of the West from which the Nestorian Church seceded, or was cut off, has never forgotten or forgiven the schism. The Roman Catholic Church has throughout the centuries, but more especially in modern times, sought most strenuously to bring the Nestorian Church into subjection to the See of Rome, which efforts, however have been in vain.

The Nestorians of today are an intensely conservative people. Their past is still cherished by even the ignorant mountain peasants. Occasionally one will hear a villager

speak of one of the early Ecumenical Councils by name, as a Presbyterian today might quote the Pittsburgh Assembly of 1870. The deliverances of those early Councils are still preserved by them in their ancient Syriac language and constitute their book of Church Government, ruling them in all such things as marriage, divorce, inheritance and ecclesiastical procedures.

Though they have been held for centuries in a degrading subjection to Moslems and have had no schools, yet the people as a whole have retained their love of books and especially of the Bible. It is a common occurrence for a rude mountaineer to learn to read and write his ancient tongue and then with great pains and in a beautiful hand to transcribe some of their ancient books simply because of his reverence for them.

Their old manuscripts are to be found in the most out of the way villages, in huts scarce fit for human habitation; and when this hut is being stripped by Turkish tax collector or plundering Kurd all else is allowed to go, but the books are secreted and saved as constituting their most prized possession.

The student would find much to interest him in the study of these people as they are today. The past lives again in them. Some of the tribes of the mountain Nestorians because of the inaccessibility of their valleys have been able for centuries to maintain their independence of the Turkish government. This armed independence, however, has occasioned enmities which have closely confined them to those remote valleys. There they have lived a primitive life, almost entirely self sustained and largely free from foreign influence. Individualism among them has been carried to its last extreme. It is needless to say that such conditions would afford many illustrations for the sociologist or the political economist.

But as interested as I am in this people and their past I cannot forget that you are at this time dealing in the present value of nations, and that I am to present to you some of the present day conditions of Kurdistan.

~~As to Germany especially, within the limits of this paper,~~
to cover the entire field which would involve the Armenians and the Arabs. I confine myself largely to that part of Kurdistan which lies south of Armenia. What I shall have to say, however, will illustrate conditions throughout all of Asiatic Turkey.

The Kurd is one of the factors entering into the new national movement in Turkey and seriously affecting the issue of it in failure or success. Actual incidents which have come under my own personal observation will best illustrate to you to what extent the the Kurd was a cause in bringing about the overthrow of the old government and what his attitude is toward the new government.

Under the old dispensation Kurdish chiefs enjoyed a large degree of independence and within certain limits were even free to make war upon one another. If they were generous enough in the division of the spoils they might also take toll of such commerce as passed their borders.

There was one Abdul Karim who pitched his black tents between the Tigris River and the great caravan road leading from Diabekir to Mosul. During the year many thousands of dollars worth of European goods passed over these two routes. For years this tent Kurd levied heavy blackmail upon this commerce. He became so rich and powerful that the government of a sub-province was absolutely subject to him.

A few years ago I was floating down the Tigris on a raft, one of a fleet of twenty. Two armed Kurds, servants of this man, hailed us from the banks, "Werra, Werra," "come here," and instantly those twenty rafts swung into shore. The Kurds boarded them and with stones broke into the boxes of merchandise and took from them such goods as they thought would most please their master. Resistance was impossible, redress not worth taking into account. The merchants simply increased the price of the goods to cover the loss.

The same year a French consul with his family was passing down the river and was held up at this same place. He resisted them whereupon they fired upon him riddling the

French flag with bullets. Abdul Hamid made the proper apology to the French government but he also sent a telegram to Abdul Karim—(I was in the town where the telegram was received. It was on everybody's lips) "My son, I kiss you upon your two eyes." A Turkish expression of extreme endearment, and of course expressing the highest approval of Abdul Karim's act.

One of the first acts of the new government was to put Abdul Karim into prison.

In the palace of the Sultan in Constantinople, some years ago was one Ibrahim, a Kurd a member of Abdul Hamid's bodyguard. Ibrahim was so fortunate as to detect a plot to kill his royal master and was at once made a Pasha. He was allowed to return to his home, an obscure village in the Province of Diabekir. Here he had a career worthy of a place in the *Arabian Nights*. Because of the favor of the Sultan he was free to levy toll upon all who came his way. Let it be said however that he scorned to rob the poor. His victims were the rich and the great. He became enormously wealthy and powerful. There was only one official east of Constantinople sufficiently high to require recognition by him. To this official, Ibrahim, at psychological moments, sent presents. The present invariably consisted of two Standard oil tin cans filled with sheep curds, and the cans were always carried by a blind, white mule accompanied by one servant. The blind, white mule and its burden of sheep curds was a well known institution throughout all that region. No one dared to lay hands upon it. It became also a parable in the land and the people never tire of tales about the amount of gold which lay concealed beneath the curds.

Some four or five years ago the City of Diabekir, groaning under the burden of his exactions, sent a delegation of their most influential Moslems to Constantinople with a petition asking for the punishment of this freebooter. They were received by Abdul Hamid with an affable smile but his first words chilled their hearts. "Gentlemen, I hear you are from Diabekir. Can you inform me concerning the welfare of my dear son, Ibrahim?" What could the

Ibrahim was prospering and that they rejoiced in his prosperity?

Ibrahim pasha was sovereign over a large area and his toll was a heavy drain upon the public revenue. Soon after its accession to power the Young Turk government sent troops against Ibrahim pasha. His stronghold was plundered and burned and he himself died in the flight from arrest and imprisonment.

These incidents are given you as fair illustrations of the conditions which prevailed all over that part of the Empire and as explaining why the cities of the interior although so distant from Constantinople, were so ready to accept the new government. The cities were impoverished through the lawless condition of the country and they welcomed any change which promised relief from such ruinous conditions. The above incidents will throw light also upon the reactionary attitude of the Kurdish chiefs. It is not strange they prefer the old to the new wine.

In order to gain a wider survey of the devastating conditions which prevailed during the last years of Abdul Hamid let another region offer some illustrations. There are four clans of the Nestorians who by reason of the inaccessibility of their valleys have for centuries been able to protect themselves, in a measure, from oppression by the Kurds. A few years ago because one of these clans dared to defend their flocks against a powerful Kurdish noble it was decided to subjugate it.

With the support of the local government an army of several thousand Kurds was gathered. By a ruse the fighting men of the valley were drawn a day's march away from home and then the Kurds poured over the mountain top to make easy prey of all the valley contained. A young Nestorian preacher, seeing the danger to the helpless women and children, put himself at the head of such men as were left, not over one hundred in number, and intercepted this army of Kurds on the mountain side where from among the rocks with the loss of a few lives they were able to hold the enemy in check for some hours until the people had

crossed the Zab River, by means of the narrow wicker bridge, to a place of safety. The little band of defenders then fell back across the bridge which from the bluffs on the opposite side they were able to hold. The Kurds spent two days plundering and burning ten villages, destroying all their houses and all their standing crops. Had it not been for the courage and skill of the young preacher there would have been also a massacre of women and children.

This incident is given not only to illustrate the devastation of the country, but also as exhibiting the conditions under which the Christians lived, for this is but one of many raids which have come under my personal observation.

In the more open part of the country the Christians are fully subject to the government and are unarmed. The government was *able* to protect them but failed to do so and they were left to the mercy of their armed Kurdish neighbors. Left without protection by the proper authorities these villagers sold themselves to the nearest Kurdish chiefs whoever seemed best able to protect them, they having learned by experience that the discriminate tyranny of one master was less ruinous than the indiscriminate plundering of the many. Thus the Christian villages were divided among the more powerful Kurdish nobles. It was the old time feudal system.

As vassals to such nobles the Christians, without wages, sowed their master's fields, reaped his harvest, carried his wood and grass, freely entertained him and his servants when they visited the village and besides all this paid him a yearly tribute in fruit and grain. This was in addition to the regular taxes paid to the government. In return for this service and tribute the baron or noble was supposed to protect his vassals from the irresponsible Kurds who would not only eat but also destroy.

Rival barons sometimes fell out with one another and in their wars, as a system of retaliation, they plundered, burned and destroyed each other's Christian villages. Thus there were destroyed a few years ago the villages of Monsoria, Mar Akha, Mar Yokhanan, Hassan and many others frequently visited by me. The beautiful and well tilled plain

of Bohtan was emptied of its inhabitants and turned into a sheep pasture for the Bedouin Kurds. On a journey from Bitlis to Diabekir about 1906, a score of deserted villages could be counted in one day's march.

The perpetrators of most of these devastations were the Hamideeya Kurds, an irregular body of troops which Abdul Hamid organized and armed and called by his own name for the purpose of carrying out his peculiar policies with reference to the Christians. These Kurds were freed from the authority of the local government and made responsible to the Sultan alone. Even the governor of the province without express orders from the king, feared to take action against these Hamideeya Kurds.

As the result of their devastating raids many thousands of peasants who once tilled the soil, purchased goods of the merchant and produced revenue for the government, were driven off the land. The land became unproductive while the farming class crowded the city streets as beggars or fled for refuge to Persia and Russia.

Wherever one traveled, from merchant, from government official and from army officer, there was one bitter cry, "Our country is ruined." Agriculture had been destroyed, commerce was paralyzed. It grew increasingly impossible to raise the revenue necessary to pay the salaries of the great body of officials, and more serious still, to clothe and feed and pay the army.

Was it strange that not only the merchant class but the entire frame work of the government, civil-officials and army officers, in the remote provinces of Kurdistan as well as in European Turkey, welcomed the Young Turk party as offering them salvation from such intolerable conditions?

Just before the revolution a capable and energetic young officer in conversation with me was lamenting bitterly the evils I have described. He denounced the central government as responsible for the ruin of the country. Striking his palm with his clenched fist he cried out, "It is the government of the old men. They thrust us young men into the inner room, locked and barred the door and grated the

window. But we will break down the doors and smash the windows and we shall be free, and then it will be the government of the young men."

Unexpected by us all, that day has come. It is now the government of the Young Turk. Will he be equal to the occasion? Has he the will and will he be able to correct, or in a measure check, the evils that have had their source in misgovernment? Will he be able to win the people to the support of a reform government to the extent that the people and not the army will be the guarantee of the government's continuance?

In order to give you a basis for forming a judgment on such questions let me set before you some things I have observed in Kurdistan during the last two years.

How difficult the task of the new government is, they know best who have been living in the midst of this heterogeneous nation, and none more than they stand ready with sympathy and a large hope to uphold the hands of the government in the fulfillment of that task.

During the last two years most of my time has been spent among the villages in the mountainous regions of Kurdistan where I had opportunity to see at first hand and at close range the effect upon the Kurds and village Christians of the various orders issued by the government and the effect also of the manner of their execution. I have seen things which should make a pessimist hopeful; on the other hand I have seen things which might make an optimist despair.

That act of the new government which was first in importance for Kurdistan, was the order for the disarming and disbanding of the Hamideeya irregular Kurdish troops. This had a most salutary effect upon both Christians and Kurds, strengthening the confidence of the one in the good intentions and sincerity of the government, and increasing the respect of the other for the government's authority and power. Powerful chiefs were filled with fear, some whom I knew went into hiding. Roads which had been perilous for travelers instantly became safe.

one road the governor compelled me to take five soldiers as escort on the ground that less than five could not return safely.

This year I traveled very leisurely from the borders of Persia, through Kurdistan and across Mesopotamia to Beirut without any government escort whatever and was not once molested. On this same trip I was almost eye witness of several depredations committed by the Kurds against the Christians. In some of these cases the government inflicted swift and sure punishment upon the offenders; in other cases great injustice was done the Christians by the government and in no case that has come under my observation has the government manifested any sympathy for the Christians in their losses by the Kurds or sought to recover their property for them.

In one case a chief offender escaped by bribing the officer in charge—a captain—and I was informed that this officer was immediately dismissed from the service.

Next in its importance for its effects upon the people as a whole was the order issued by the government for the enrollment of Christians and Jews as soldiers in the regular army. Such a procedure was in violation of the Koran and contrary to all Moslem precedent. The Kurds at first refused to believe in the validity of the order or denied the sincerity of the government. As the actual enrollment of the Christians and Jews went forward and the Kurds were forced to accept it as a fact they were affected in various ways. Some were filled with rage and indulged in threats against the Christians declaring openly and repeatedly, that if they ever got another chance against the Christians they would not leave one of them alive. Others were filled with consternation declaring that this act subverted Islam; that the Christians were now equal to the Moslems and that the next step would be to yield them the supremacy.

In other individual cases there was an awakening to the Kurd's need for schools if he was to maintain his superiority over the Christians or even equality with them.

Let a specific instance which occurred while I was present in a nearby village, be given. A very noted and powerful Kurdish baron, one of the higher type of Kurds, who was hostile to the new régime and refused to believe that the change could be permanent, one day last Spring returned home from the nearest government seat where he had seen the Christians in process of enrollment. He was greatly impressed and deeply moved in spirit. A Nestorian preacher with whom he was on intimate terms was present. He said to him with great earnestness, "Berkho, I have seen strange things today. The world is indeed changed. The Christians are being enrolled as soldiers. Berkho, as plainly as I see these beads in my hand, I see my son your son's servant. Your son is in school reading. He will come out a doctor or a captain in the army. My son is here in the village idle, learning nothing. He will be your son's servant. We Kurds must have schools." There are a few other Kurds of this stamp. It must be said with reference to this enrollment that the Syrian Christians are as much opposed to it as the Kurds. The government very naturally refuses to organize the Christians into separate regiments and insists upon mixed Moslem and Christian regiments. The Christians however, see in this a concealed snare in which they will be in danger of losing their religion. Some of them are resorting to every expedient to escape such military service. The Jew is showing more readiness than the Syrian Christian to bear arms.

Another encouraging sign to which I wish to bear testimony is the very evident improvement in the personnel of the government service. For governors of provinces and sub-provinces men are being appointed who have been educated in Constantinople under European teachers and are, through reading and personal contact with foreigners in sympathy with modern ideas.

Last Spring as traveling companion I was thrown for eight days into closest companionship with such an official. He had with him a text book in the Turkish language, published by a mission of the American Board, a combined geology, astronomy, physical geography, botany and physi-

ping place, and even while seated in the carriage, was spent in the study of that book. He was deeply interested in it and was understanding it.

He told me he had boys and girls in American Mission Schools. He had only one complaint to offer, viz.; that his children were not taught enough science. In one town the younger men of the official force organized a club in which Christians and Jews were admitted on equal terms with Moslems. This club stood for progress and civic righteousness. They hired and furnished a room for their meetings, subscribed for newspapers, were organizing a public school and were very vigorously prosecuting the governor of the district for malfeasance of office. These young men called upon me several times and I am persuaded they were as sincere and as earnest and as disinterested in their patriotism as any political club of young men in America.

In one large and important city having a large Moslem population a Christian was appointed Mayor for which position he was in every way fitted, and he was sustained in this position by the Governor in spite of the strong opposition of the Moslems.

In another town farther in the interior the Mayor is a Kurd but in hearty sympathy with the new government. He came to an educated native preacher in the town to take lessons in order to better fit himself to fulfill his duties as mayor.

It was in this town of the Kurdish mayor I heard last winter the bell of the town crier. His shouted proclamation was mirth provoking or pathetic as it might chance to strike you; and yet significant of the new life that has layed hold upon the East. "Hear ye, hear ye," ran the proclamation, "be it known unto you that whosoever inventeth any new thing, to him a suitable reward shall be given."

In the city of Mosul, on the site of ancient Nineveh, a weekly paper is published, called *The Nineveh*. Here also where Jonah delivered his message another proclamation

recently amazed the people. They were warned that a flying machine was coming and that they were neither to fear it nor shoot at it.

Surely the sleep of ages has been broken.

These concrete examples may shed some light upon the personnel of the government in Kurdistan and enable you to form a judgment as to the reality of the political changes in the Turkish empire. Not all has been told; of course, there are still in office men of the old school who exercise a reactionary influence. But the facts presented are such as to inspire confidence in the government's sincerity of purpose in its adoption of modern methods and modern principles.

There remains, however, the other important question. Granting that the leaders are facing the right direction and, however slowly, are really moving forward, will the people follow them in the path of progress? What has been done to incline favorably the minds and the hearts of the people as a whole toward the new dispensation? In what way and to what extent are the Christians a factor in the National movement? In considering these questions we are confronted at once with the Kurd. Is it possible to convert the Kurd into a good citizen? It is possible and I think his education has begun.

Let me speak from personal knowledge a few words in testimony of this. First there is the raw stuff in him which makes education possible. He is sprung from the same stock as the Anglo-Saxon. Note the remarkable similarity in language. The Kurd says "heg" for egg; "stār" for star; "noo" for new; "no" for no; "ribbār" for river. Their words for father, mother and brother are almost identically the same as ours. For "brother mine" they say "bra-a-min," the "min" being our pronoun, "mine." They have the word "girt" to bind and the Scotch word "greet" to cry. In its monosyllabic words, its simplicity of construction and its slight inflection, the Kurdish much resembles the English. It is plain the Kurd is a distant cousin of the American.

And not only in language but in character also, there is a family resemblance. To see it plainly, indeed, we must be looked upon as we were in the days of the Scottish chiefs.

To one who has spent years in Kurdistan, who has been guest in Kurdish hut and Kurdish hall there is a peculiar pleasure in reading stories descriptive of English and Scottish life of a few centuries ago because of the remarkable similarity between the Kurd of to-day and the old time Scotchman. There is the same kind of a dwelling; the same household life; the same relation between master and servant, and the best type of Kurdish woman is not unworthy to be compared with our great grandmothers.

There is the same clan spirit; the hot temper, the fierce feuds, the sheep stealing, the wild raids, are the same. There is the same open handed hospitality and also the canny regard for the mickle which makes the muckle.

If the Kurd is revengeful, treacherous and bloodthirsty, were not out Scotch ancestors also? A Kurd and his dagger is a tame creature as compared with the ancient Highlander and his terrible battleaxe. There is undoubtedly a strong family likeness between the Scotchman of a few centuries back and the Kurd of today.

If Henry Drummond and James Bryce could be evolved from a Rob Roy it is safe to say that something can be made of the Kurd.

But how? I do not hesitate to say, by the very same means which John Knox used in making Scotland, and that Luther used in making Germany,—the preached word of God. This undoubtedly is the chief means for transforming these wild and barbarous people into peaceable and useful citizens.

But there are, also, contributory means and it is to one of these, I wish, in closing, to call your attention. I refer to an educative process that has been going on for years. It might be called, a peripatetic institute, in which the missionaries and the Christians have been the teachers.

Let it be put in a concrete form.

For seventy years missionaries have been in Kurdistan dwelling in its cities and towns. The itinerating missionary,

during this time, in his many journeys, has literally criss-crossed the country. He is out among the villages for months at a time. He travels by caravan or on foot so every twenty-five miles of these many journeys has meant a night's lodging in a village. He is always received by the most influential man of the village or town. This man may be a government official or an army officer. He may be a merchant. If it is in a village it may be a Kurdish Agha or Sheik or only a Kurdish farmer. Whoever he is or whatever he is; be it the hall of the Sheik or the hut of the farmer, the missionary receives as a rule, a courteous and hospitable reception. After the evening meal a crowd gathers, in which will be, whether few or many, some of the leading men of the place.

First in the mind of the missionary, of course, is his chief message—some spiritual truth—which he must deliver and for which even in Kurdish castle or government house there is usually an opportunity. It is not of this, however, I would speak now, but of what may be called the missionary's *secondary* message. The spiritual truth has been imparted but there remain yet several hours of the evening. Their host's tobacco pouch is at their disposal, the fire is cheerful, the cushions are soft and the strange looking foreigner will doubtless have some news from the world about which they are hearing many wonderful things, so why should they go? They are ready to sit and listen for hours. What shall the missionary's secondary message be.

Speaking from my own personal experience I find I have repeatedly talked on such subjects as these—"Modern Inventions;" "Labor Saving Machinery;" "Modern War Implements;" "Form of American Government;" "Our Tax System; how the tax is assessed—how paid and what benefit accrues to the tax payers;" "American Agriculture;" "Irrigation;" "The Comparative Cost of Caravan and of Wheeled Transportation." I have even found interested listeners to an explanation of "Municipal Bonding of City Utilities." In the presentation of such subjects as these there is, inevitably, a contrast unfavorable to Kurdistan or Turkey.

As an offset to this another line of subjects is often introduced. "Turkey as the Land of the Great Prophets;" or "The Land of the Three Great Religions;" "The Past Glories of the Land of the East." "The Present Natural Resources of Kurdistan;" "Agriculture and Sheep Raising;" "The cost to the Turkish Consumer of Sending his Raw Cotton and Wool to Europe to be Manufactured."

Then still another line of subjects introducing the moral factor into National prosperity, as "Common Confidence an Essential Basis for National and International Commerce;" "Personal Character and National Credit;" "The Beneficence of Law" (on this particular subject I gave a series of prepared lectures in a remote mountain district of Kurdistan.)

The above subjects are fair samples of the missionary's secondary message. Considering the character of the subjects and the interest with which they are listened to, is it a misnomer to speak of such work, in a modest way, as a "Peripatetic Institute?"

But to measure the area of this influence, consider the unit of it—the night's lodging every twenty-five miles. Multiply this by the number of lodging places in one journey; and this by the number of journeys made by one missionary; and this by the number of missionaries that have been traveling, and this by the seventy years that the missionaries have been abroad in the land walking up and down the length and breadth of it and it will be seen that the superficial area covered, the number of people affected, and the amount of industrial, political and social information imparted are not inconsiderable.

This work may be looked upon, again, as a national psychological process.

Seventy years ago Turkey could scarcely be said to have national consciousness, so far as the common people were concerned. Each city was an independent unit; no village recognized any relationship with any other village. City or village had no conception of a nation of which it was an integral part. The government was simply a system for the collection of taxes. That the people should be proud

of this government or ashamed of it—there was no such impulse. To speak of their country in such terms as pride and shame would have been unintelligible to them. How their country or government stood before the outside world gave them no concern.

Now how has the missionary's secondary message affected such a state as this?

It is said that the individual awakens to self consciousness by the perception of another "ego," or, a "not I." Does not a nation attain to self consciousness by the same process? And has there not been this national psychological process as a result, at least in small part, of the educational work referred to?

The people of the interior have traveled but little and have read nothing. They are naturally intensely provincial. There has been little or no cognizance of the nation. These secondary messages have gradually made the people familiar with other nations as national entities. Through this frequent perception of other nations having national life, national reputation, national character, national glory or shame, the term Turkish nation has come to have significance to them. There has come to be a realization of their entity as a national unit.

Looking back over twenty-three years of contact with the people of Kurdistan I can discern very distinctly this process through which the people are beginning to find themselves. I recall incidents which indicate the rise of national self-consciousness, the manifestation of national shame, the beginning of national ambition, while today we are witnessing incipient national volition. It was, among other factors, the frequent presentation of the composite picture of a Christian civilization or Christian nation that awakened their national consciousness; that revealed themselves to themselves, as a nation, in contrast with that fair picture, and this revelation in time operated to induce shame of their national short-coming and an ambition to excel as a nation.

Is it not possible that in this process of education we have, in part, the explanation of how it was that the Turkish revo-

lution was accomplished, at its opening, without the shedding of blood, and without serious disturbances in the remote provinces? The people were willing to receive a reform government because, in a measure, they understood and appreciated what was involved in such a government.

It is evident that the success of this new national movement will depend upon what proportion of the people can be won to its support.

I have spoken of the missionary's secondary message delivered to a circle of Kurdish listeners while the guest of the village. Really *his* talk was only *one* factor in the work of that night and if there had been no way of continuing and deepening its influence, the talk would have been as seed sown upon the rock or by the wayside. For after all, the missionary's visits are infrequent. He is soon gone; who will nurture the seed sown? For the one village he visits, there are many he never visits. Who will scatter the seed more widely?

It is at this point the Christians appear as a factor in the movement. The missionary is one; they are many. The missionary touches but a few villages; the Christians are scattered throughout the length and breath of Kurdistan. The missionary goes; the Christians remain to water and to nurture the seed sown. The Kurds have listened to the missionary's talk with interest, and his marvelous memory will retain the words for years, but they have understood the ideas and even the words imperfectly, doubt their truth, perhaps, and fail to catch their connection with their own life and condition. The Christians, many of them, have been in close contact with the missionary, in the school or church or home they have heard these things more frequently, have apprehended them more fully and are fully, and some of them enthusiastically, persuaded of the blessings wrapped up in the Western ideas advanced by their missionary friend. So it is, they become the missionary's advocate; they vouch for his truthfulness. They explain what has been but imperfectly understood and persuade the Kurds of the value of the new ideas presented.

And more important still, discussion is precipitated. In the presence of the foreigner the Kurd will make no dissent to any proposition but the Christian villager is also a son of the soil and with him the Kurdish baron can debate. Now discussion is education. There is mental stimulus in it. There is development of new ideas and the discipline of yielding to their power. There is the moral benefit of expressing one's convictions and defending them, and such discussions are largely possible only through the agency of these Christians.

Parties are forming, in sentiment if not in fact, among the Kurds—the "stand-patters" and "the insurgents," and where parties are, there is political life; and where there is life there will be growth and progress.

But if this national movement is solely political and intellectual and have no moral fibre wrought into it, it, as many another revolution, must end in disaster. A moral and spiritual quality must be imparted to this new nation if it is to become truly prosperous, if it is to abide a worthy member in the great federation of nations.

Here again the Christians of the Turkish Empire as evangelists of a saving and uplifting Gospel are playing an important part and are to become, we hope, still more influential in the future than in the past.

Recalling the honorable past of these old churches, their heroic keeping of the faith through so great trials, their wonderful preservation by the God of Nations, who conserves national energy as he does natural energy, recalling all these we can not doubt but that they have been preserved to perform some useful and honorable function in the body politic of the new nation.

THE PACIFIC OCEAN IN THE RACIAL HISTORY OF MANKIND

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I. THE PAST

The Pacific is of course the greatest of the oceans. But there is a characteristic of it that is far more distinctive; it is its mobility of bed. And from this flow some of the most striking phenomena in its history both physical and human. It has the greatest expanse of coralline formation over its surface. And this in the Pacific according to Darwin, confirmed by the Funafuti boring, implies a great secular subsidence. Almost every year we hear of some island appearing or disappearing in some part of it; whilst Agassiz found a great triangular steepsided plateau between the Galapagos and Easter Island a thousand fathoms or more under its surface almost wholly devoid of life, doubtless from the same cause, the volcanic mobility of its bed.

But the mobility naturally varies. There are belts that are now subsiding and belts that are rising. One zone, stretching from the south-east of Japan southeastwards over the equator down to within a couple of thousand miles of the South American coast has manifestly been subsiding during the existing geological era; for though it has depths between the series of islands of from two to four thousand fathoms, it has several lines of islets and groups of islets of wholly coralline formation. The region away to the southwest, extending from the Philippines to New Zealand in a southerly direction and from Celebes to Samoa in an easterly direction has evidently been rising for a long period.

Now the subsiding zone is of extreme importance in accounting for some of the peculiar phenomena in the human

history of the ocean. The coral insect in this ocean raises its reef at the average rate of fifteen to eighteen inches in ten years. Taking this as the rate through recent geological times and taking the average depths for some distance around the groups of islets we should not be far wrong in concluding that in early human times, perhaps in early neolithic times, certainly in palaeolithic times these groups were both broad and lofty, probably the highest peak of each being visible from its neighbor. In that state of the ocean the least oceanic of canoes might venture in the lee of the groups right down into the far center of the great watery expanse. And this would account for one of the most singular phenomena in human culture. These central groups are occupied by a people, the Polynesians, who in some of their arts, the masculine, those of war, navigation, architecture and carving, rise to the higher levels of the barbaric stage. And yet they have adhered to arts that are purely palaeolithic; these are the art of thread-making, that of fire-making and the fictile art; they have never had a spindle; they have a pump-drill, but have never applied it to the production of fire; and, though they have plenty of clay, they have never made pottery. In early stages of culture these belong to the women's department, and woman, guided as she is by emotion oftener than by reason, is more conservative than man. This palaeolithic element in the household culture seems to indicate that man has been in Polynesia since palaeolithic times and that woman came into the region only in those times, when there were still only short canoe voyages to make to land that could be seen on the horizon. The absence of pottery from the arts of the natives of the northwest coast of America, along with the extraordinary Polynesian affinity of their arts and culture, points to a similar source at the same period for their earliest stratum; the identity of the British Columbian "slubbets" with the Maori *patu-patu* or *mere* in form, purpose and details of workmanship is only one of the many affinities between the two regions. Japan has no shell-heaps without pottery; but it is unlikely that an archipelago that in Saghalien is separated from the continent by only a few miles of shallow

water would have no inhabitants till neolithic times; and, lying as it does on the line of volcanic fissure, it may have lost its original coastline with its mounds of débris. It was undoubtedly a Caucasian race with predominant light hair that went down into Polynesia; for many Polynesian families still have light hair, and the children have often up till puberty light bronzy and wavy hair; whilst the people have as a whole strikingly European features. In Japan a large proportion have white skin, and a considerable percentage wavy brown hair, especially over the mountains on the west coast of Hondo, where 20 per cent of the men are as tall as the Polynesians or the tallest Europeans.

If we assume the central isleted belt to continue subsiding, we can easily explain some of the most striking features of Polynesian culture and history. They were the only race in the history of the world that mastered the art of oceanic navigation in the ages of stone. Even the Scandinavians never launched out over thousands of miles of open ocean; they reached America by the stepping-stones of Spitzbergen, Iceland and Greenland. The Phenicians, the Arabs, the Malays and the Japanese were only coastal or monsoon sailors. The Polynesians were the first and only true oceanic navigators before the invention of the mariner's compass. Their traditions tell of voyages of thousands of miles guided by the rising of stars, the currents, the trade-winds and the flight of birds; and, though they had greatly degenerated in oceanic daring and skill by the time Europeans entered the Pacific, yet many such voyages are reported by our discoverers. It is often assumed that there was a Melanesian people first in Polynesia; but, though the Fijians and the Solomon Islanders make large canoes, they have never ventured far from the coasts of their own groups; besides for nine months in the year the wind is against the possibility of their voyaging into Polynesia, and the other three months it is fitful and cyclonic, and would require the most daring and skillful navigators to make use of it. It was necessity that urged the Polynesians into oceanic voyaging and skill. The subsidence of their islands and the shrinking of the land on which they could live drove them far afield for

other footing. There is no other region in the world that could have originated the art of oceanic navigation before the compass. Nothing but the command and exercise of such art can explain the comparative unity of their culture and language, though their islands are separated by thousands of miles of ocean and are scattered over a region some six thousand miles by six thousand—a marked contrast to the Melanesians, who occupy archipelagoes comparatively close together and whose language is unintelligible and culture is totally different in villages a few miles apart. The strange tangle of culture and language in this Caucasico-negroid people lying between Indonesia and Polynesia, but closer to the former, is to be explained by constant immigration through thousands of years from both West and East, and by the absence of the concentrative power of Polynesian chiefship and patriarchy except in Fiji, the highly Polynesianised neighbor of Tonga. In studying the languages of Polynesia, Melanesia and Indonesia comparatively I have found a stronger linguistic drift westwards than eastwards; I have found the full form and explanation of contracted common words oftener in Polynesian than in any of the languages of Indonesia or Melanesia. This accords with the facts of nature; the subsidence of the central belt of the Pacific, the home of the Polynesians, and the steady trade-wind from the southeast the greater part of the year. From my recent comparative study of the cultures and languages of the three regions I have come to the conclusion that any migrations into Polynesia from either region have been but refluxes from westward migrations of the Polynesians; the men or their descendants have after settling become homesick for their old archipelagoes and used their oceanic skill to return. Other migration into the far unknown vastitude of the Pacific lacks motive and cause; besides we have no historical instance of such a movement, whilst every other year we hear of castaways on the coast of Asia from the eastward. These refluxes would naturally be much rarer than the westward migrations; for the emigrants would know that their old island homes were growing narrower. Two proofs that this contraction of the areas

~~they occupied was a fact are the constant search for other~~
homes at least up till the fourteenth century of our era,
and the universal customs of abortion and infanticide in the
region.

But the question naturally arises, why, if the subsidence of their islets drove the Polynesians westwards, they did not seek new homes to the southeast, in the direction by which they originally came? If they came along that northwest-southeast zone, why did not they follow the same route away to the east? The natural reply is that the trade-wind usually blew the other way. But that could not have been uniformly the case when the belt of islands was high and mountainous; such a barrier would deflect the northeast trade-winds away to the southeast. In the olden times, before the zone of islands became a series of atolls and reefs, it must have been almost as easy to reach Easter Island, St. Felix and St. Ambrose and the Peruvian coast as to go westwards to Melanesia or Indonesia. And when this wind impulse was gone there still remained the route from the most southerly islands of Polynesia like New Zealand and Rapaiti to Easter Island and the coast of South America. Not far south of the tropics the westerlies blow almost all the year round; and when the American coast was reached the constant southerlies and the Humboldt current would bear the migrants up to Peru and Central America.

That this is no mere fanciful route can be deduced from various facts. There is a closer affinity of the Easter Islanders in language and culture and appearance to the Maoris than to other Polynesian peoples. They carried carving, the one in stone and the other in wood, to a greater pitch of perfection than any other Polynesians. Then the megalithic stone platforms and statues of Easter Island have their closest analogy in the rude statues of Tiahuanaco and those of the Valley of Huaraz on the Peruvian coast and in some rude statues in Mexico and especially in Tabasco and the south than anywhere else in the world. ~~The megalithic art is in evidence all over Polynesia coming from Korea~~

America; but it is nowhere to the east of the Andes in the south or of the plateau of Mexico in the north. Adobe and wattle are the usual materials for building, natural to both South and North America wherever permanent or urban dwellings have to be erected; in valleys and cañons filled with fragments of stone enough to build hundreds of cities the traveller sees all the Indian villages built of mud in various forms. The only exceptions are the northwest coast, where timber from the forests is used, and the region of the pueblos and cliff-dwellings, where sometimes adobe and sometimes small stones are used. Cyclopean walls are the exception; and they are found only in the parts within reach of the Pacific coast. Wherever great timbers are available, the stone habit is abandoned; in British Columbia we see some traces of a former megalithic habit in the dolmen-shaped tombs made of huge logs. But in Central America, in spite of abundant timber supplies, the stone habit and even the megalithic habit has prevailed during a long period of its prehistoric ages, a sufficient indication that the art was exotic. And before the Spanish arrived it was already beginning to fail, and many of the great stone buildings were tumbling into ruins. The aggressive advance of the Aztecs from the north was confusing the acquired instincts of the natives and throwing them back upon their earlier habits.

But long before the approach of these cruel warriors, there had evidently been enemies to guard against, not from the north or the Gulf of Mexico, but from the south and the Pacific Ocean. There is a striking contrast between the ruins on the two coasts; those in Yucatan, Tabasco and Chiapas are all of religious or communal buildings with little or no provision for defence; those on the Pacific side show careful provision in position or walls or in both for defence against a formidable enemy; and from Guerrero down to Honduras they are, none of them, close to the coast; they stand back on the ranges that run parallel to the coast, and are generally on inaccessible or easily defensible spurs; they have all been fortresses of refuge for the agriculturists from the plains and valleys when some enemy landed on the far

distant coast. It is clear that marauding expeditions were not infrequent along the Pacific coast of Central America.

It is also clear that many of these must have conquered and settled; whence else would have come the art of stone fortification? Nay, every indication seems to point to the Pacific as the source of the megalithic art as a whole. And the decorative designs of this region have a great similarity to and often identity with those seen on the pottery found in the graves of the coast of Peru; whilst I have seen llamas' heads on pottery even from the ancient graves of as far east as Chiapas and Yucatan, and on an old Tlascalan drum in the Mexican Museum there is carved the figure of a llama. All this points to the Pacific coast of South America as the source of some of these conquering expeditions.

On the Peruvian coast the only native seacraft was the balsa, and as a mere raft with the sea awash through its timbers it was quite unsuited to long oceanic marauding or conquering expeditions. There is evidence however in the ruins of the city of Grand Chimu on the coast near Truxillo pointing to the fact that deep-sea craft had belonged to the rulers. On the ocean side of the city are three great fortified, double-walled camps; and underneath their walls are three still deep and broad docks that have evidently once extended into the ocean beyond the surf; in them low dams with narrow entrances but wide enough to admit oceanic canoes formed large protected basins close to the gateways of the camps. The conquerors of this city must have come across the ocean; and it is not unnatural to conjecture that when the coast became the desert it now is, these masterful canoe-users went off in search of other lands to conquer. Of course the coast must have become comparatively rainless as soon as the series of islands across the equator from the southeast of Japan had sunk into low coral reefs and atolls and ceased to deflect the northeast trades into moist winds fitfully blowing on to the South American coast. But there are indications that the foothills at least had at one time boscage, if not arboreal vegetation, upon them; the frequent civilizations of the coast needed fire to bake the pottery that was so essential for the journey to the other world, and

every stick and root would soon disappear from the slopes; the rains that still fall on the coastal ranges would then rush down in torrents and carry the humus of the cultivable ground into the ocean. The dews that constantly fall on that coast would now have nothing but desert to moisten. We have thus a true cause for the universal abandonment of those towns and cities whose ruins and graves spread over the whole region.

The first shores that the oceanic expeditions arising from this growing dessication would come across would be those of Central America; there they would settle and conquer the natives and introduce their own special arts. That there was a light-haired, European-featured, long-headed intrusive element in the ancient population of the Peruvian coast is manifest in its graves; thirty per cent of the skulls that I counted cast out of the graveyards of Pachacamac were longheaded; I took from off the scalps fine reddish-brown, wavy hair, though most had the long, lank, raven-black locks of the mongoloid; and the faces on the pottery in the many collections that I saw were in a large number of cases purely European. We have seen that this blonde element was widespread in ancient Polynesia. And there are indications that it was this element that largely formed the expeditions we have reason to believe went off to the central American coast; for throughout the Indian tribes that occupy the coastal ranges of the Mexican and Guatemalan coast, from Guerrero to Honduras, there is a considerable sprinkling of blonde-haired, European-featured people; had this intrusive element appeared only in recent or even in Spanish times the persistent Indian features and lank hair would have made it completely disappear. So permanent an infiltration of a light haired element along the Pacific coast of the two great centers of ancient American civilization could have been the result of no mere accident, such as is suggested by so many hypotheses as to the origin of the culture of Peru and Central America. The effect of a castaway junk or canoe would vanish within less than a generation. A derelict ship, even if it happened to have some women on board, would melt away into the ocean of semi-savage,

lank-haired mongoloids and disappear like "the snowfall in the river." The stories of golden-haired and bearded reformers and founders of civilizations who came across oceans, so common on the Pacific side of both South and Central America, highly personalized as they are, find a more natural rationale in this blonde immigration than in a sun-myth, though it is not unlikely that both sources may have contributed to the result.

One thing is certain, and that is that, whilst there were longheaded occupants of America in palaeolithic times ultimately driven into the *cul de sac* of South America, and whilst there is evidence of later infiltrations of longheads on the Pacific coast, the great bulk of the former inhabitants of the continent were mongoloids that came from Asia in neolithic times; and so overwhelmingly predominant is this element and so devoted to land pursuits and ignorant of oceanic arts that it is reasonable to suppose that they came by land. Across Bering's Straits is the only possible route for such a migration from Asia. And, though a section of the incomers were hunters, a still larger section must have been at or near to the agricultural stage, so persistent are the elements of agriculture amongst even the most primitive tribes of America. And this implies a different climate in the countries lying about Bering's Straits than that of the present day. Nor is it difficult to see how such a change of climate occurred. The strait is not far from that volcanic fissure which so often sends up islands or submerges them, and a temporary shallowing of its waters is easily conceivable. If such a change occurred the colder water of the Arctic Ocean would have little or no issue into the Pacific; none but tropical waters would circulate in the north Pacific; the winters would be milder on both shores of it; temperate-zone flora and fauna would migrate northwards and with them both hunting and agricultural man. The subsidence of the bottom of the strait and the return of the Arctic waters and Arctic conditions would bar the way between the two continents except for peoples like the Esquimaux.

Soon after the closing of this migration route, pressure from the North would begin to cease, and the agricultural

settlers towards the south would have peace for many ages, except from oceanic marauders. But little or no advance would be made unless where there were new types of men and arts and ideas filtering in and by cross-breeding forming variants; and from the situation of the old American civilizations it is evident that this occurred only on the Pacific coast and at points whither winds and currents easily carried oceanic migrants from the west. The semi-barbaric cultures of North Chili, North Argentine and the Bolivian plateau and those of Ecuador and Colombia are evidently reflections or waves from the coastal civilizations, as those of the pueblos, the cliff-dwellings and the mounds are of the civilizations of Central America. There is a cultural gap between the northwest coast and the cliff-dwellers; and when the wild hordes from the north, like the Aztecs, scattered the peaceful agriculturists of the Mexican plateau, they streamed away north and northeast, chiefly up the valleys of the great rivers, whilst the hunting tribes of the plains penned them into their districts and hammered them into town-dwellers and village-dwellers, who had to protect themselves by earth-works or fortified walls or on inaccessible positions.

II. THE FUTURE

The Pacific Ocean was untraversable except by the only oceanic navigators, the Polynesians, till the mariner's compass came into universal use. Then the peoples that faced oceans began to cross them; and, when steam displaced sail, even the coastal peoples of inland seas have become oceanic. And now the greatest ocean in the world is about to lose its isolation and will ultimately become the busiest. For round it are gathering the advanced races of the world; and the day is not far distant when half mankind will occupy its shores. In late palaeolithic and in neolithic times Caucasian, Mongol and Negroid mingled and blended on its Asiatic coasts and islands. Now they and the cross-breeds face each other in sullen silence and reciprocal quarantine, the more primitive races as a rule fading away, the more advanced struggling for the mastery and waiting events. All

feel consciously or subconsciously that this ocean is going to be the great arena of history. The Suez and Panama canals are the concrete expression of this truth. Here have come into conflict the Western and Eastern ideals, and here must the struggle between them be fought out. The difference between them seems unbridgeable because of their long isolation by mountain and plateau when they were in process of developing.

It is only superficially that color and physiognomy divide the cultivated races. The fundamental differences are economical and social. The religious differences are rather phases and results of these, and are intertwined with both.

In our modern world the economic difference is by far the most important; it is the gap between the Eastern standard of comfort and the Western that makes the two stand so far apart. The long quarantine of Oriental labor in its three great centers, China, India and Japan, dragged the standard down into the closest proximity to starvation; nothing but periodical famines and plagues, sweeping out their millions, made any progress, even the most infinitesimal, possible. When the bulk of a people are at the intermittent mercy of these two brooms of humanity, there must be stagnation, in spite of occasional spurts of progress. To admit this Eastern standard into immediate competition with the Western would end in dragging the latter down more than raising the former up. Western nations must, in order to save themselves from the long stagnation of the East, exclude Eastern labor till its standard is greatly raised. That this process of elevation has begun we can see. In India famines and plagues, thanks to British rule, have no longer the omnipotence they had; and education and Western manufacture and markets are raising the value and wages of labor. On the coasts of China the process has begun and it will slowly spread inland. In Japan it is well on its way; strikes are weekly occurrences, because of the expansion of experience and ideas by contact with the West.

Almost as important a differentiation of ideal is the position of woman. All these Eastern centers still abase her not

only in social but in household life. This is perhaps the more patent difference in ideals; but it is not the more potent; for the Western emancipation of woman is comparatively recent; what made it easy was the monogamy of Western peoples. The process will be longer in the East because of the long recognition and approval of polygamy. It has already begun in Japan, and the big schoolhouse one sees in every village will accelerate it, and admit Japan ultimately into the social comity of nations. There can be no real admixture of the races till the position of woman in the household is as secure in Japan as in the West. In India and China the process will be much more prolonged because they are not insular, and hence are not easily opened to foreign influences and ideas. But the growth of Western education in both is quickening the life and will lead to vast social and political changes.

Japan is the only Eastern nation that the Western people on the Pacific have to fear; for she has Westernized most efficiently in arts, sciences and armaments. But with the advantages of Westernism she must take, and is rapidly taking, its defects; in her future wars there will be less patriotism, less concentration of power and less national plasticity. And meantime her hands are so full with Korea and Manchuria and the development of her own resources and wealth that it would be madness on her part to seek a conflict with any great power. Her last conflict has left her too exhausted financially to admit of another of the sort for a century at least, except to save her life. And at her doors there is a potentiality that will strain her energies for centuries,—the labor quarry, the coal and iron fields and the markets of China. And there undoubtedly she will have to watch with an interested eye the death throes of the Manchu dynasty within a generation, and will doubtless be called in as bedside physician, if not heir. Her clear duty is to keep free of all entanglements and conflicts at a distance in order to reserve and concentrate her energy for the great tasks that lie to her hand. Under her guidance the process of levelling up Eastern standards, economical and social



to proximity to those of the West will grow quicker. And within a definite number of centuries man may see the Pacific again the blender of his races and the assimilator of his racial ideals.

NOTES AND REVIEWS

MISSION PEDAGOGY

1. The worship of Confucius on his birthday I have never heard directly combated. Missionary schools rather seek to guide the students into more reasonable and more genuine methods of showing respect, and seize the opportunity for addresses upon the place and work of the sage.
2. There is a movement—not very strong at present—to take over some of the old festivals and give them new meaning as was done in the West. One proposal at present hotly debated is to make the Chinese "Ching Ming" feast when everyone visits the graves of their relatives coincide with Easter, the feast of the resurrection.
3. The West China Christian Educational Union resolved in 1908 "that we urge the study of Chinese literature throughout our educational course, taught from the Christian and modern point of view, and with as much foreign coöperation as possible."
4. Missionaries do not hasten to introduce foreign ideas as to the mingling of the sexes. Churches and chapels are divided by a central partition into men's and women's sides. Girls' schools also are often managed in such a way that the staff arrange marriages for the pupils.
5. In the architecture of missionary buildings in West China the attempt is often made to adapt Chinese features, e.g., the heavy roofs, and tilted corners.
6. In carrying out the discipline of missionary schools the Chinese love of completeness and formality is observed: notice-boards and rules appear in luxuriant crops. The outward form is valueless and hollow to a Westerner but it is recognized and even welcomed as the form in which discipline can appeal to the Celestial.

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The Indian and his Problem. By FRANCIS E. LEUPP, formerly United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910. Pp. ix, 369.

Mr. Leupp, who dedicates his book to ex-President Roosevelt, under whom he held office, has "mixed with Indians for twenty-five years," during which period the Indian problem has had a wide variety of phases,—from deeds of violence on the part of the aborigines (often the result of blunders and aggression on the part of the whites) to the awakening of the American national conscience in the last few years and the beginning of an era of justice instead of an epoch of plunder. In saying, as he does, that "The Indian problem has now reached a stage where its solution is almost wholly a matter of administration. Mere sentiment has spent its day; the moral questions involved have pretty well settled themselves. What is most needed from this time forth is the guidance of affairs by an independent mind, active sympathies free from mawkishness, an elastic patience and a steady hand," the author gives utterance to the current pragmatism of the apostles of the strenuous life. In discussing the diverse topics with which the seventeen chapters of the book deal: The Indian as he was, What happened to the Indian, The problem and a way out, Working of the Burke law, Disposing of the surplus, The Indian service, Theory and fact in education, Time for a turning, The Indian at work, The Indian as a capitalist, Legislating for a dependent race, Liberty and discipline, A few illustrative cases, Missionaries and their methods, Philanthropy and criticism, The Indian territory experiment, As the new day nears its noon, Mr. Leupp talks more humanly than the common representative of officialdom, when the question is one of "a dependent race." Characteristic of our American treatment of and our ignorance of the Indian and his problems is the statement on page 2:

"Do you know anything, by actual contact and experience, of the Indian country and the conditions there?" I once asked a distinguished Attorney-General of the United States, whom I had been vainly trying to induce to make a special inquiry into an Indian case then before him.

"God forbid!" was his fervid response, as he raised both hands and extended their palms toward me with the gesture of pushing away an unwelcome suggestion."

And yet this "statesman," Mr. Leupp informs us, "was a highly bred product of the East."

How different the point of view of those friends of the Indian to-day "whose purpose toward the superseded race is neither robbery nor charitable exploitation, but honest, unselfish, practical help." Mr. Leupp points out the evils that have come to the Indian through unwise special legislation, the reservation system and its accompaniments, the graft of the Indian service, bad educational efforts and too much paternalism, mistakes of missionaries and *faux pas* of religious teachers, wasteful philanthropy, white outlawry, etc. Interesting are his views concerning the experiment of the "Indian Territory," the working of the Burke law and other enactments. A picturesque and artistic people such as the Indians are need "improvement, not transformation," and in our dealings with them we need "to get back to common sense." On pages 326-327 the author allows himself a brief polemic against what he terms the "pseudo-scientists," who desire only that "the Indian may be left undisturbed as a social nonconformist and a human oddity." The future of the Indian is undoubtedly, as Mr. Leupp says, "to be absorbed and merged into our race," and, "regarded in its broader aspects, the intermarriage of Indians and Caucasians has nothing to condemn it." In this case, "there is no barrier of race antagonism to overcome, for the Indian and the white mingle everywhere on a legal and social equality; and the offspring of such a marriage derives from each of the parent races certain traits which work well in combination." After all, the Indian question is "a human, not a mere race question." It must always be remembered that "the Indians are descended from a free and independent ancestry, full of race pride, disdainful of new and alien things." It is their equality with the white, not their inferiority, that must weight our judgment. If the American Indian has not produced a Booker T. Washington, he has brought forth a Juarez and a Hiawatha!

ALEXANDER F. CHAMBERLAIN.

ISLAM AS A FACTOR IN WEST AFRICAN CULTURE

By George W. Ellis, K.C., F.R.G.S.

Whether we consider Africa in the character and magnitude of its topographical outlines, or in the force and number of its mad and rushing rivers; whether in the nature and wonder of its cataracts that fall and foam, or in the majesty and glory of its mountains, lifting their summits above the clouds; whether in the luxuriant wealth and variety of its flora and fauna, or in the beauty and splendor of its rising and setting suns, painting the landscapes in colors, gilding the hillsides with gold, and purpling the clouds as they are forming and floating by; or whether in the serious study of the many sociological and religious problems which affect the character, culture and destiny of its splendid and robust races, to the layman as well as to the student, Africa is always fascinating and delightful.

BRIEF ORIGIN OF ISLAM IN WEST AFRICA

The history of Islam in West Africa is more than interesting. The weight of authority seems to be that Islam probably crossed the Sahara about the 11th century, A.D., although the Tarik, a history of the Western Sudan written in the 17th century by Amir Es Sardi, contains a reference to a prince of the Songhai Kingdom, who about 1000 A.D. became a follower of Muhammad. Upon the authority of Leo Africanus we believe that many of the African races accepted the tenets of Muhammad during the reign of Usif Iben Tashfin, the founder of Morocco, as early as 1062 A.D.¹ Dr. Barth, a German traveler, ascribes the introduc-

¹ *Christianity, Islam, and the Negro Race*, Blyden, p. 6.

tion of Islam into Bornu to the year 1086, during the reign of Hume who perhaps died on his way to or from the city of Mecca. Mr. Morel, a noted English authority on West African affairs, is of the opinion that Islam was in the region of the Senegal about the 9th century A.D.,² and pressing eastward reached Gao on the Niger near the opening of the 11th century, and continued in a triumphal march to the great African (Negro) kingdom of Kanem.

But whichever way it came, it came from without, and was felt among the Blacks of the Niger Bend in the 11th century; and upon such eminent authorities as Morel, DuBois, Blyden, and others Islam became an important factor in the religious faith and practice of the finer Black races of the continent. It is said that throughout the northern half of Africa, the Koran, its sacred book, is read from the "Atlantic to the Red Sea, and from the Mediterranean to the Congo."

Dr. Blyden, in these words, well likened its phases to the English drum beat described so poetically by Daniel Webster:

They keep company with the hours, and from lofty minarets encircle the globe with one unbroken strain of the mellifluous sounds of Arabia—Allahu Akbar, Allahu Akbar.³

ISLAMIC INFLUENCE IN ARABIA

There has been a great deal of discussion as to the character and effect of Islam. Palgrave sums it up in these words:

Islam is in itself stationary, and was formed thus to remain; sterile like its God, lifeless like its first principle in all that constitutes life—for life is love, participation and progress, and of these the Koranic deity has none. It justly repudiates all change, all development, to borrow the forcible words of Lord Houghton, the written book is there the dead man's hand, stiff and motionless; whatever savors of vitality is by that alone convicted of heresy and defection.⁴

² *Affairs of West Africa*, Morel, p. 210.

³ *Journal of the African Society*: The Koran in Africa, 1905, by Dr. E. W. Blyden.

⁴ *Palgrave's Arabia*, vol. I, p. 372.

The writer of this passage had in mind the effect and character of Islam in Arabia, and it may not be seriously disputed that there is some truth in what he says if his characterization is extended to mankind in general. But when we come to consider Islam in its effect upon the Black races (Negro) in Africa, we are confronted with a new and different situation; and I am afraid that the description of Palgrave will have to be considerably modified before it harmonizes with the actual facts.

CONTROVERSY OVER ISLAM IN AFRICA

It is very much to be regretted that a great and heated controversy over the character and effect of Islam upon the African Blacks has tended very much to obscure the truth from many interested persons who have not had the privilege to study the question on the ground. Thompson, Smith, Reclus, DuBois, and Blyden are among the recognized leaders of those who take the position that in mental and social culture Islam has greatly improved the African, while Renan, Noble, Blerzey, Church, and Freeman—names quite as prominent in the discussion of African religious problems—entertain just the opposite view. Those who cannot enjoy the opportunity of investigating the situation personally in Africa will find the truth perhaps divided among the members of and between the two schools to which I have referred in a general way. The views of most of the writers are weakened by what seems a desire to champion or discredit Christianity or Islam more than to discover and disclose the whole truth without regard to what might be its effect upon religious thought toward Africa and its races. And yet more and more one school seems to have a little advantage over the other. So that a hurried review of the controversy in a general way will not only enable one to secure an advantage view point, but will throw considerable light upon the particular questions under more immediate consideration.

ISLAM AS AN UPLIFTING FORCE IN AFRICA

Speaking of the Arabian faith upon its entrance into the Sudan (African Black Belt), Mr. Morel gives the important testimony of Joseph Thompson:

Under the fostering impulse and care of the new religion these backward regions commenced an upward progress.⁵

Mr. Thompson's testimony cannot be brushed aside without some reason, for about 1884 he visited that portion of the African Black Belt now known as Northern Nigeria, and he has been described by so able and voluminous a writer as Noble—entertaining just the opposite view—as,

A scientific observer and the humanest, the noblest of African explorers since Livingston.⁶

1. BOSWORTH SMITH

Mr. Bosworth Smith, a remarkable Englishman in that he pored over the pages of the Koran, the works of African travelers and savants until he was not only able to appreciate the spirit of Islam, but he entered into it at a time and in a manner which, as Dr. Blyden says:

But for the antecedent labors of Lane, Sprenger, Deutsch, and Weil, would be astounding in a Western scholar and Englishman.⁷

While lecturing in 1874 at the Royal Institution of Great Britain, Mr. Smith weighed and described the effect of the Muslim faith upon the African Blacks with much of the accuracy of one who had spent some time in observation and study on the ground. And just to indicate his main position I will quote only a few lines:

Christian travelers, with every wish to think otherwise, have remarked that the Negro who accepts Muhammadanism acquires at once a sense of the dignity of human nature not commonly found even among those who have been brought to accept Christianity.⁸

⁵ *Affairs of West Africa*, Morel, p. 211.

⁶ *Redemption of Africa*, Noble, vol. 1, p. 68.

⁷ *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, Dr. Blyden, p. 3.

⁸ *Muhammad and Muhammadanism*, R. B. Smith, Lecture I, p. 32.

2. M. ELISIE RECLUS

The *Geographie Universelle* of M. Elisie Reclus is a classic in African literature.

By it the author

made the scientific world debtor for a vast treasure-house of natural science in its African aspects and relations.⁹

The author of this very valuable and important work speaks of the influence of Islam upon the African races in the Black Belt in these words:

In Nigretia the propagation of Islam coincides with important political and social changes. Large states were founded in regions hitherto a prey to a hundred hostile savage tribes. Manners softened. Solidarity sprang up between communities formerly engaged in ceaseless war. Muhammadanism enjoys more material cohesion in Africa than in Asia. . . . Their common belief tends everywhere to diffuse the social ideas, habits, usages and speech of the Arab. . . . At Mecca the most zealous pilgrims, those subject to most frequent fits of religious frenzy, are the Negroes of Wadai and Bornu and the inhabitants of northwest Abyssinia. Notwithstanding the difficulties of the journey, thousands of Tekrurs undertake the pilgrimage every year. In West Africa the propagators of Islam are Negroes.¹⁰

There is no question but what M. Reclus is an able scholar. He was twenty years preparing what is now regarded as the most complete geography of the world. And it is extremely unlikely, after the most extensive traveling, endowed with the qualifications to render the most eminent services to the world of science, that M. Reclus was entirely mistaken in his estimate of the scope and influence of Islam upon the Africans, contrary to conventional opinion, and describe it with such force and minuteness without such convincing facts as would appeal to every rational mind unaffected by the prejudice of religious bias.

3. DR. EDWARD W. BLYDEN

Dr. Blyden, the well known and eminent West African scholar, wrote in *Frazer's Magazine* in 1875 that:

⁹ *Redemption of Africa*, Noble, vol. 1, p. 68.

¹⁰ *Redemption of Africa*, Noble, vol. 1, p. 68.

Muhammadanism in Africa counts in its ranks the most energetic and enterprising tribes. It claims as adherents the only people who have any form of social polity or bond of social organization. It has built and occupies the largest cities in the heart of the continent. Its laws regulate the most powerful kingdoms—Futah, Masina, Hausa, Bornu, Wadai, Dafur, Kordofan, Senaar, etc.¹¹

Thirty years afterwards, describing the sway of the Koran in Africa, this distinguished writer said:

If there were a railway from West Africa to the Red Sea, and you wished to avail yourself of it to journey to Egypt during the fast—(you might accomplish the journey perhaps in seven days)—you would during those seven days pass through a region where you would find every man, woman, and child in good health observing the fast. On the entire route, 4000 miles—you would notice that the fires were out in the daytime. Sixty millions of people fasting at the same time! I believe that more than half of these are Negroes.¹²

More than thirty years ago Dr. Blyden was not only a scholar but had

enjoyed exceptional advantages for observation and comparison in the United States, the West Indies, South America, Egypt, Syria, West and Central Africa.¹³

As Director of the Department of Muhammadan Education at Sierra Leone he has had the most favored opportunities for ascertaining the influence of Islam upon the African Muslims. And with a scholarship further broadened and enriched with thirty years of study and observation of life and letters in Africa and the world, Dr. Blyden speaks on this question with an authority which must command respect if it cannot secure conviction.

4. M. DUBOIS

M. DuBois, the author of Timbuctu the Mysterious and who spent some time in traveling among the Muslims of the Sudan, secured some very valuable manuscripts, and em-

¹¹ *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, Blyden, p. 6.

¹² *The Koran in Africa, Journal of African Society*, January, 1905, Blyden.

¹³ Introduction by Sir Samuel Lewis.

ployed these words concerning the intellectual culture of the followers of the Meccan prophet in the African Black Belt:

We possess the biographies of several hundreds of these learned men, and all are related to one another in a more or less direct line. A cerebral refinement was thus produced among a certain proportion of the Negraic population which has had surprising results, as we shall see later, and which gives the categorical lie to the theorists who insist upon the inferiority of the black races.¹⁴

AGAINST ISLAM AS A HELPFUL INFLUENCE IN AFRICA

Against the views and position taken by Thompson, Smith, Reclus, Blyden, and DuBois, we have a long and splendid line of able and resourceful writers headed by Blezey, Church, Renan, and Freeman, who for the most part have formed their conclusions from the observations of others, and who have not traveled and studied the African in his religious life as much and as long as Thompson, DuBois, and Blyden. Yet their conclusions in many respects are sound and their distance and view point have enabled them to bring to their works a charm and interest which perhaps a closer view would obscure.

Mr. Noble tries to take a very liberal interpretation of the African races of the Sudan, and M. Renan is renowned for his vigorous and trenchant criticisms; so that a citation from each of these will be sufficient to indicate the general trend of opinion against Islam in Africa.

1. M. RENAN

The influence of Islam is summed up by Renan in these words:

On ground none of the best Islam has done as much harm as good. It has stifled everything by its arid and desolating simplicity. . . . The essential condition of a diffused civilization is the destruction of Islam. The product of an inferior and meager combination of human elements, its conquests have all been on the average plane. Savage races have been incapable of rising to it.

¹⁴ *Timbuctu the Mysterious*, DuBois, p. 278.

It has not satisfied the people who carried in themselves the seeds of a stronger civilization.¹⁵

As applied to man generally this quotation seems to express the great trend and weight of opinion among those competent to judge the influence of the different religious schools upon the great masses of the human race. But it embodies a generalization which ignores the truth that the same religious system will affect different social groups differently in different grades of religious culture.

2. NOBLE

In the opinion of Renan, Noble agrees, and after, as he says, turning "from the polemics of partisans such as missionaries, theologians, and travelers," and in the light of history examining the works of such students and scholars as August Mueller, Theodor Noeldeke, Wilhelm Spitta, Dean Stanley, and Wellhausen, he proceeds to judge the worth and the work of Islam in Africa. And after portraying the merits and defects of Islam as an African missionary, among his conclusions he states the following:

Islam has been slow in operation, superficial and unsatisfying in actual achievements. Its African conquests, though larger in area than Europe, cost nearly thirteen hundred years of effort, are more nominal than real, and relatively number but few adherents. As an ethical, spiritual and state-building force it has proved a failure. In Egypt, North Africa and Northern Sahara it supplanted a superior civilization; in the Sudan the Muslim brought a culture little if any superior to that of the Negro. In the lands of the Negro the Muslim success consists of Arab immigrations; the conversion of five or six influential tribes; and their conquests of others.¹⁶

INDICTMENT AGAINST ISLAM

It is said that Islam requires no change of heart or life, that its acceptance is made easy by the simplicity and poverty of its creed; and that its social force is greater than its spiritual potency. They say when charged with polit-

¹⁵ *Redemption of Africa*, Noble, vol. 1, p. 66.

¹⁶ *Redemption of Africa*, Noble.

ical authority the spirit of Islam is military, and that its missionary spirit was just born in the 19th century; that the Koran teems with commands to fight, that the distinctive feature of Islam is the Holy War, and that it regards the sword as the best missionary. With the force of much truth it is observed and pointed out that Islam makes concessions to African beliefs, substitutes the Muslim minister for the medicine-man among the pagans, and replaces the African native fetiches with Koranic verses as amulets. And yet, after all, Mr. Morel who, as editor of the *West African Mail* must keep in touch with conditions and life in West Africa, makes the following significant statement, which in a measure discloses how deeply and profoundly Islam has influenced the life and character of the African:

Individually and collectively the Negro has progressed since Islam crossed the desert, and just as to the Negro fetich of the forest and the swamp religious conceptions permeate every act, preside over every undertaking, and insinuate themselves into every incident of his daily life, so Islam, where it has laid permanent hold upon the Negro, claims from him an allegiance entire and complete.¹⁷

AFRICAN FEALTY TO ISLAM

Mr. Morel cites the authority of a clergyman of the Church Missionary Society who describes,

a ceaseless stream of Haussa pilgrims continually passing through Tripoli on the way to Mecca after a wearisome tramp across the desert,

and reminds us of that larger but still ceaseless stream of Africans from all parts of West Africa, which pours across the drifting and scorching sands of the Sahara for the precious sight of Mecca. It matters but little if the Fulah, Mandingo, Yolof, Egypto-Sudanese followers and the Zanzibari Muhammadans have records as warriors; or, that Islam is discredited from Kartum to Wadelai by Felkin and Wilson, with the Haussas by Barth, the Futa highlander and Mandingos by Lenz, and the Bambara and Yolof by

¹⁷ *Affairs of West Africa*, Morel, Two most interesting chapters on Islam, p. 212.

Brun-Renand; when the evidences from resident students and authorities are increasing that among the Blacks of West Africa and the Sudan, Islam with all its faults—and it has many—is an important and encouraging factor where it has taken root.

Islam does not uplift in the opinion of the writer as Christianity would if embraced and established to the same extent, but Islam is a great and marked improvement upon the pure African pagan. The writer has taken the opportunity to look into the social and religious conditions of the Basas, Goras, Kpwesi, and other pagan tribes on the West African coast, and in industrial skill, self-respect, intellectual energy and attainments, these tribes are far inferior to the Vai and Mandingo Muslims. Whether the superiority of Islamic tribes in Africa has been the direct result of the introduction of the Meccan faith, or whether these tribes because of their superiority have been able to embrace the new religion, is still an open question. But that Islamic influence is a fundamental factor in the life of the African in the Sudan and has made some valuable contributions to African life and Sudanese culture are no longer open to serious dispute or refutation from those who have familiarized themselves with the situation on the ground.

SOME EVIDENCES OF ISLAMIC BENEFIT

The writer found a Black Mussulman within twenty miles of the West African coast with nearly one hundred and fifty volumes in Arabic covering a wide range of subjects. Fifty of these volumes were written by African (Negro) authors on law, theology, music, grammar, rhetoric and medicine.

It is very improbable that the African Black races would master Arabic, a foreign language, with such proficiency as would enable them to produce authors in this alien tongue, and this too on such varied and important subjects without being themselves benefited and impressed by not only the language, but the literature and culture of Arabia.

In glancing over the list of books it discloses what would be natural to expect among the Black peoples to whom Ara-

bian language and literature had been brought through the missionary and military efforts of Islam. There are seven books in law, five in science and medicine, seven in grammar and rhetoric, fourteen in music, and seventeen in theology.

The Black race is well known to be highly musical, and its authorship in this fine art as far as this Muslim library will disclose, shows that the language was made to pay tribute to the African's nature and respond to one of his greatest pleasures.

But great as seems to be the tendency of African authorship in music—where you would naturally expect to find it—it appears to be even greater in theology where it is equally natural to expect and to find it. The Koran inspired the learning of the Arabian language and questions of religion considered therein would most likely attract the greatest authorship among the proselyted peoples, at least for a time.

ISLAMIC INFLUENCE AMONG THE AFRICAN VAIS

Islam is a potent force in the religious life and practice of the Vais. Whether the Vais accepted this faith before or since they came down from the far interior is not material now. The Vais, Mandingos, Bambaras, Sosos, and Mendis belong to the Mande family, and occupy the territory behind Liberia and Sierra Leone including the sources of the Niger River. This is a very important group of the African Black races and the ethnic family touches the West African coast at two points: once in Liberia and once north of Sierra Leone.

Speaking of the Vais, Rev. S. W. Koelle said fifty years ago that not more than one-fourth of them were Muhammadans. The number is much larger now. A Christian missionary who had worked among the Vais for a number of years estimated that 95 per cent of the tribe are Muslims. This estimate is no doubt a little high. The writer found many Vais who were still pagans, and from observation and other sources of information approximates the pagan Vais to be about one-third of the Vai population.

In most of the towns and some of the half-towns the

Muhammadans have schools and mosques, and are generally regarded as being considerably superior to their pagan brothers. In the schools the boys are taught Arabic and some of them become quite proficient in it. Instruction is given in Arabic in order that the Koran above all other books may be read, and yet when once learned other works of Arabian literature are read and studied.

In the mosques the adherents of Islam may be seen praying five times a day, but wherever they are they pray before sunrise, at noon, in the afternoon, in the evening, and just at night. It is said, when praying, that Muhammad turned his face to the West,

Because, as he said, from that quarter crowds will enter the religion of Islam and be among the most faithful of its adherents.

Admirably the prophecy has been fulfilled. But the Vais in praying turn their faces to the East toward Kaaba, a sacred shrine in Mecca, believed to be a special gift of God and the favorite praying-place of Ishmael and Abraham. Vai Mussulmen seem to be deeply possessed by their religion and their practice corresponds to what they profess. For thirty days they hold the annual fast of Ramadhan, at the close of which they celebrate the festival of Bairam. With one as leader, gathered in a group, for hours the writer has listened to them chanting from memory the sacred lines of the Koran.

MORAL AND RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE OF FETICHISM

Although African paganism teaches many superstitious beliefs and is founded upon the false hypothesis that man is surrounded by malignant and invisible spirits and that it is necessary for him to make regular sacrifices to them in order that his life and fortune may be secure from their injury and revenge, yet when thoroughly understood as it operates upon the African's mind and in its general influence and social pressure, one of its chief natural effects is to give spiritual training in many of the essentials of morals as we understand the term:

To do good to others; to sacrifice for their benefit your own wishes; to love your neighbor as yourself; to forgive your enemies; to restrain your passions; to honor your parents; to respect those who are set over you; these, and a few others are the sole essentials of morals.¹⁸

So that African fetishism in its ultimate analysis is not such a debasing and degradizing superstition as is generally believed by Christian thinking nations of the West. It is only one of the African institutions whose common object is to furnish the individual with ideas and rules of thought and conduct as they enter into and constitute African life under the interesting phenomena of African physical and social conditions. And it is now becoming more generally recognized that African institutions should be altered only after they have been thoroughly understood, and then with the greatest of care and caution as there are few of them which do not register some social advantage or benefit in the family or tribal life of the African. The African ju ju, which seems to give the false impression that the African is a worshiper of false gods, when fully comprehended in all its phases and functions, discloses the fact that the African struggling through the centuries has found in his own way the same God whom we serve and who made the heaven and the earth and all that in them is from monera to man and from atom to star. And the deep spiritual nature of the African with his cheerful smile and happy disposition under circumstances which distress and despair other races may be traced to the contributing influence of African fetishism.

ISLAM AS A MORAL FORCE IN WEST AFRICA

It is because African fetishism enters into almost every phase of African life that its moral influence is important. But the moral influence of Islam is even more important, because Islam imparts a religious zeal and gives scope for intellectual enthusiasm which are incompatible with the nature and character of fetishism. In the customs, ceremonies, deaths, dances, and social functions the influences of

¹⁸ *Introduction to Civilization in England*, Buckle, p. 103.

Islam are easily noticed by competent observers throughout West Africa. Everywhere Islam presents evidences of being indigenous to the soil. It surrenders few things indispensable to Muhammadanism, but compromises upon many important to the African. It is therefore a vital and living force, interesting in no particular more than in its moral aspects. They are substantially the same among the Vais as among the other Muhammadan tribes of the Black races.

The moral code of the Islamic Prophet is fashioned after the Sinaitic laws in two series of five precepts each. These precepts are well known by the Vai and other West African Musselmen, who take pride in committing the Koran to memory. Among the precepts might be mentioned the following:

- (1) To acknowledge no other gods but God; (2) to show respect to parents; (3) not to kill children on account of dread of starvation; (4) to preserve chastity; (5) to protect the life of others except where justice demands the contrary; (6) to keep inviolate the property of orphans; (7) to employ just weights and measures; (8) not to overburden slaves; (9) judges to be impartial; (10) to keep oaths sacred and the covenants with God.¹⁹

Such are the important moral principles or precepts which are taught by the Islamic priests among the Vais. Their influence has given a higher standard and tone to the life of the Muhammadan than the pagan Vais. But the fact that Islamic teachings do not disturb the institutions of polygamy and slavery there is not that scope and field for the development of moral excellence which obtains among Christian nations. The knowledge of the Koranic faith, with its moral code and concomitants of Arabian culture and arts, impart to the Muslim Vais a higher order of individual intelligence and moral consciousness. It may be noticed in the personal dignity and importance which characterize the individual bearing and conduct of Muhammadan adherents. It may be observed in the attitude taken by Muhammadan converts on many family and tribal customs and ceremonial institutions and functions. And in nothing is it so striking

¹⁹ *The Races of Man*, Oscar Peschel: p. 303.

as in the abstinence from strong drink, gambling, and the common vices of pagan peoples. There is a marked scarcity of means for disseminating the knowledge of the Koran which prevents the fullest diffusion of Koranic morals. So that while the moral standard is much higher among Muslims than the pagan Vais, the degree of its excellence varies with the intelligence and opportunities of the former class to understand and absorb the new religion in its different phases.

SOME REASONS WHY ISLAM IS WIDELY ACCEPTED BY AFRICANS

There are many reasons why Islam is widely accepted among the African races of West Africa and the Sudan. Perhaps among the reasons most easily noticed, immediate and far-reaching in its influence, is what may be termed Mission Pedagogy.²⁰ The teachers and propagators of Islam are so diplomatic and tactful in presenting the spirit and principles of their Prophet. They go along the line of least resistance and insinuate themselves into the confidence of the people they approach before the people are really aware of the object and ultimate aim of their visitors. They meet and treat the people as equals, residing with them in their towns, marrying the African women, and showing the greatest sympathy with and interest in African institutions and customs, and yet modifying and altering them whenever they can do so without doing great violence to the feelings and habits of the people. Often the writer has seen these Islamic missionaries entreating the people in strange and pagan native towns to lend to them their children that they might be taught by them for a time. Sometimes only with the greatest difficulty would they secure one or two children, and then after much vain pleading and begging, they would return to their apartments and begin their work with as much zeal and devotion as though they had received instead of the apathy and opposition of the people the favor of the town.

²⁰ *Journal of Race Development*, October, 1910, Mission Pedagogy, Dr. Hall, p. 127.

Day after day with patience and without price these Muhammadan priests would humbly come before the people for the opportunity to instruct their children until finally apathy was kindled into interest, a great Muhammadan center was established, the pagan ju ju replaced by Islamic amulets, and Muhammad acknowledged as the only Prophet of the true God. In this way Islam has won town after town and tribe after tribe until today among the Black races of the African Black Belt unnumbered millions are firm believers and ardent devotees to the Meccan faith and Teacher. They come in many ways, sometimes as school-masters, traders, readers, scribes, venders of amulets, priests, mallams, and marabuts, whatever way seems best to make Islam acceptable and triumphant. When it is thoroughly established its influence may be seen in the very appearance of the native towns and important vows are exacted of all adherents, including abstinence from liquors, vices and luxuries. Islamic ceremonies and frequent prayers, the distinctive costumes of their priests, and their general manners, are some of the many outward signs and marks of the Muhammadanized population among the African Blacks.

There are other reasons why Africans feel and entertain such strong attachment to Islam. Among other things it is taught that the African Black races have a high and honorable part in the history and notable achievements of the Muhammadan faith. By the best informed Muhammadans the people are made to feel a pride in the fact that the Black races are recognized in the Koran, which contains a chapter inscribed to an African (Negro).²¹ The people are told that Muhammad was in part descended from an African and had a Black man as a confidant in Arabia. It is pointed out that Black men figured prominently in the military and religious progress of Islam, and on one occasion slew a rival of Muhammad. It is said that the Prophet greatly admired a Black poet of anti-Islamic times and expressed his deep regret that he had never seen him.

The Africans thus feel a close relationship to the Koranic

²¹ Logman: Chapter 31, *Koran*, Steingrass' translation, vol. II, p. 245.

faith. As their kinsmen they name their children after Muhammad and the prophets. As equals they delight to think of and commune with the great masters of their faith, many of whom are Black men. Often little African Black boys have been seen writing in Arabic the important names of the Koran. So that with all the pride of distinguished ancestors, with the names of great Black men, remembered as renowned in the military history and progress of Islam, and with all the inspiration which a knowledge of the Koran and its language gives, the Muhammadan teachers and missionaries have been going forth daily for centuries, without money and without price, to teach and widen the influence of Islam among their pagan Africans. So that it can no longer be successfully denied that Muhammadanism is a vital and living force among the millions of the African Black Belt.

SOME INTELLECTUAL ASPECTS OF ISLAM IN AFRICA

Aside from the religious and general influence of Islam in Africa it has some intellectual aspects which might be considered in some of its broader features. We now know that for centuries from Egypt, Nubia, Abyssinia, and the Barbary States, streams of Arabian culture emptied into the African Black Belt in many intellectual forms; pilgrimages obtained special learning from Mecca and Medina, and secured from Cairo much of the civilization of the East. When the Saracens were finally driven from Spain, the Moorish scholars and poets carried to the Blacks in the African Sudan the intellectual wealth and harvests of Grenada and Cordova.

Among the Black Sudanese races centers of learning were established, in which rhetoric, logic, eloquence, diction and the principles of the Koran were taught to the theologians. Law according to Malakite and artistic writing were given to the jurists. There were regular courses in hygiene, medicine, grammar, prosody, philosophy, ethnography, music and astronomy. A number of Black authors arose, distinguished for their writings on traditions, biographies,

annals, law, music, history and theology. Black African scholars rivaled their Arabian masters. Near the mosque of Sankore, it is said that their apartments were to Timbuctu, the "Queen of the Sudan," what the "Quartier Latin" is to Paris. Among the distinguished marabuts and eminent Black African scholars and writers M. DuBois mentions Mohaman Kati and Ahmen Baba, the former the author of *Fatassi*, a history of the kingdoms of Ganata, Songhai and the City of Timbuctu, and the latter the author of more than twenty known books. Baba's library contained the fewest books of all his friends, and yet he had 1600 volumes. The learning and scholarship of the Sudanese Blacks were genuine and so thorough that,

During their sojourns in the foreign universities of Fez, Tunis, and Cairo they astounded the most learned men of Islam by their erudition. That these Negroes were on a level with the Arabian savants is proved by the fact that they were installed as professors in Morocco and Egypt.²²

ELEMENTS OF CULTURE AMONG THE AFRICAN VAIS

It is therefore mainly from the learned Sudanese Blacks and a few Arabs that Islam and Arabian arts and culture were extended throughout West Africa, in which movement the members of the Mande family figure prominently. The Mandingos are perhaps the most widely and favorably known of this ethnic group. Their industry, dignity, culture, and the breadth of their Muhammadan scholarship have made them so impressive that they are universally regarded and termed by their neighbors as the "Gentlemen of West Africa." It is from their ranks that come the most eminent marabuts, schoolmasters, priests, and doctors of the Muslim faith.

Belonging to the same ethnic branch the Vais have shared in the Muhammadan attainments and reputation of the Mandingos. And just as the Mandingos are called the "Gentlemen of West Africa," the Vais because of their own distinctive development along different and the same lines

²² *Timbuctu the Mysterious*, M. DuBois, p. 285.

are often referred to as the "Romans of West Africa." It is not to be understood that every Mandingo and Vai Muhammudan is deeply cultured, any more than every person residing in Christian states is highly cultured in the principles of Christian civilization. The great masses of the greatest nations, with all the advantages of improved machinery, science applied to all forms of industry, printing presses, the best literature in cheap editions, and the great ennobling influence of the Christian church, have not as yet risen above the mere struggle for bread. Most of the books in Africa among the Vais are written by hand. The lack of modern facilities for printing and making books, not only make them dear but scarce as well. Yet under all the difficulties many of the Vais read and write Arabic fluently; but with them as with other peoples high culture and deep scholarship are reserved for the few who are willing to pay in time and labor the price for their acquisition.

Culture is the result of knowledge, the essence of digested facts. As it obtains among the Vai scholars it has two fundamental phases: Knowledge which has come to them through the introduction of Muhammudanism, etc., and that which they have acquired from experience and study under the pressure of African conditions. From Arabian and other foreign sources Vai Mallams like Murfey, Vahney, Seriff, Mambroru, Vahney Sonie, Boma Dadu, and Momoru Declay possess a rich and varied fund of information that is as admirable as it is astonishing. Besides their familiarity with Islam, Arabian arts, letters and learning, they speak of the countries and cities of the East as we do of Europe. They are likewise acquainted with the general geography of the West. No doubt the increased communication with Europe and the founding of the Republic of Liberia by citizens of the United States with the aid and sanction of the American government materially increased the geographic interest which had already been awakened by the slave traffic on the West Coast some centuries before.

From Arabian and other foreign sources Vai scholars and West Africans generally have secured valuable information on statecraft and the art of war. Arabian and Eastern

models may be seen in the cut of their dress, and in the designs for their useful and decorative arts. Works on music written by Black men and Arabic scholars are common in Vai libraries. Some of the Vai scholars have a wealth of literature by Sudanese and Arabic authors and on a wide range of subjects, among them might be named poetry, philosophy, theology, grammar, rhetoric, and ethics.

One is surprised at their knowledge of hygiene, physiology, and the principles of medicine. Some of the cures which are effected by some of these Vai doctors simply stagger belief. Instances are cited where their surgeons have extracted bullets and set bones, removing fractured and shattered parts, that would be a surgical triumph in any country. This may seem incredible, but when you see an African doctor wash one man's hand in a medical solution, see the same hand thrust into boiling palm oil to the bottom of a kettle with the same ease with which the hand may be put into cold water and withdrawn without either pain or injury; and when you attempt to put your hand in without this preparation you find you can scarcely approach the kettle on account of the extreme heat, something suggests to the strongest incredulity that perhaps these people have learned something which has not yet interested modern medical science.

SOME NATIVE ELEMENTS OF VAI CULTURE

Perhaps after all the most important phase of Vai culture is the native element, for it was because of this element on the one hand that Muhammadanism found such fertile soil in Africa, and on the other that the Black races were able to attain such flattering heights in Islamic scholarship. Like other tribes of the African races the Vais have much native knowledge and skill in the industrial arts. From wood, iron, grass, gold and silver they have known for centuries how to fashion products for useful and decorative purposes. They weave, manufacture, and dye cloth in varied figures and beautiful designs. They possess considerable knowledge regarding the utility of vines and the medicinal properties

of roots and herbs for many African diseases and complaints. They have men familiar with great systems of law founded in equity, and with the great aim and philosophy of government. They understand the ultimate social influence of institutions, and their final importance and social value in terms of ethical culture. They have a written language, originated and invented by a Vai man—Momoru Doala Bukere—with an alphabet of about two hundred characters. In their traditions, myths, legends, folklore, fiction, songs and tales of romance, they have an African literature.

Of the numerous Vai writings, in traveling through the Vai country, some may be seen in manuscript form and others written on wooden tablets. Perhaps the oldest and most interesting of these Vai writings is the autobiography of Ndole Wono. So far as known it is the masterpiece of Vai literature. It contains an account of Wono's wanderings into the interior, his romantic adventure with a princess, and concludes with a tragic description of his mother's death. It is indeed a thrilling story and justified the publication given to it some fifty odd years ago by the Rev. S. W. Koelle, a distinguished linguist of London who visited the Vai country during the lifetime of Bukere—the Vai inventor.

They are familiar with the great literature of the Blacks and Arabs in the Sudan and in Arabia. Young Vai students and scholars are sent to Musardu, Timbuctu, and other centers of African learning in search of the broadest and deepest African culture. If we consider that the Vais have a written language and literature; that their scholars and the scholars of other tribes have mastered their native literature; have committed the Koran almost to memory; are familiar with the Holy Bible and phases of its higher criticism; are the authors of songs and stories of charm and broad human interest; speak besides Arabic a number of native tongues; and possess a fund of information upon a variety of subjects and their physical environment, we cannot condemn too severely the critic who termed these people the "Romans of West Africa."

SOME AFRICAN OBJECTIONS TO CHRISTIANITY

It is the opinion of the great Christian churches with missionary operations in Africa that ultimately this great continent will be redeemed by the blood and spirit of Christ. And during the last half a century Christian churches have made some very important religious conquests among the different African races in different sections of the continent. I will only pause to mention the work of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States on the West African coast and in other sections of Africa under Bishops Taylor, Hartzell, and Scott, and the special work of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States among the Grebos of Cape Palmas and the Vais of Grand Cape Mount, under Bishop Ferguson.

And while we may hope to redeem Africa and can point to many advances made by Christian missionaries, attested by many flourishing missionary stations on the East and West coasts, from whose influence thousands of the African races have embraced the religion of Christ and accepted as the criterion of their lives the standard of the Western nations; yet it must be remembered that if the White races of the West are to redeem the Black races of Africa, Africans insist that there are two or three things which should be taken into consideration in the future missionary polity of the Christian churches.

1. Islam in Africa will have to be thoroughly studied, and its influence upon the Black races fully understood and carefully measured. It must be considered as a serious rival, overcome by the message of genuine Christianity, and supplanted by rendering to the African races superior religious and social service. The Muhammadanized African scholars and priests read and write Arabic fluently; know the Koran by heart and can recall its different parts and recite from it continuously for hours without apparent difficulty. Upon this book they are familiar with numerous commentators, Black and White, and can discuss its tenets in the light of the most critical interpretation of the profoundest Islamic scholarship. Many of them have Arabic copies of the New

Testament, know the thrilling story of the life and practice of Jesus and all the essential principles of the Christian faith.

2. More and more the students of the African situation are coming to the conclusion that in Africa natural and societary conditions are so dissimilar to those obtaining among Western peoples, that the only redemption of the African races that is worth while is that which instead of attempting to wholly westernize the Black races in Africa, endeavors to develop the African in harmony with the laws of his own being and nature under the social and physical forces which for centuries have brought into existence the great body and form of African life and destiny. At best in Africa they say they can be made but poor Europeans; they prefer to be good and great Africans. In supplanting Islam and destroying African fetishism, it is not enough to simply take care of the African's religious life, for his social and political institutions must be supplied and sustained by sanctions as strong and as effective as those of which he has been deprived, or we may leave the African unable to live our life and in a more helpless state than his own.

In other words it is necessary to interpret Christianity to the African mind and situation in some such way as President Hall would have it fitted to the occidental:

We certainly need today a great master fortified with modern learning, charged with the positive inspiration for original reconstruction and able to restate Christianity in a way to fit the occidental cultivated mind as Paul adjusted it to the leaders of the Greek cities. The church ought to believe that other Pauls are still possible and that they may one day arrive and free the Christian world from the bond of dogma and wont and extend its quintessential requirements of loving and serving God and man to the utmost bounds of the earth.²³

3. The African mind finds serious and confusing difficulties in accepting Christianity with all its heated controversies and rivalry over denominational doctrines and lines. And the progress of Christianity in Africa will be very much accelerated when Christian denominations shall agree upon and come to a common understanding about certain

²³ *Journal of Race Development*, October, 1910, p. 128.

fundamentals of the Christian faith, in the advocacy of which all denominational differences and doctrines shall be forgotten.

Other writers, but Dr. Blyden in particular, have pointed out certain additional objections on the part of the African to Christianity: (1) That it has a disintegrating influence upon the African family and state; (2) because of its caste distinctions based upon differences of race; (3) and because the liquor traffic is carried on to the shame and degradation of African races by the great civilized and Christian nations.²⁴

For the most part these conditions should not be charged to Christianity, for they are independent of and exist in spite of it. For while Christianity as presented may tend to disintegrate the African family and state, founded upon polygamy, yet if properly presented it would be a great integrating and socializing factor for the African peoples, assisting them gradually to found their family and state upon the standard of the highest domestic principle. The history of the human race, attested by the grandest achievements, demonstrates that the polygamic family is inconsistent with the highest domestic, social and spiritual development of mankind. This objection is already passing away and will completely disappear when missionary leaders are instructed by broader knowledge of the particular missionary fields and by closer contact with the nature and magnitude of the religious problems involved.

So far as the objection to Christianity is concerned, on account of caste distinctions based purely on race differences, it cannot be sustained against the theory and principles of Christianity, but it is too well founded as against the practice. For in dealing with the African the White race has shown itself amazingly incompetent to think without prejudice, or to act upon just and equitable principles. To the great detriment of both races physical and other differences have been invariably and erroneously mistaken for evidences of natural inferiority. Christian civilization has done much to correct this error, but as yet it has not been

²⁴ 'Journal of the African Society, Koran in Africa, Blyden, January, 1905.

able to wholly eradicate it. And in so far as the discrimination of Christians against Africans is concerned, it simply discloses that the discriminators, with all the advantages of their great religion and modern civilization, have not been able to any great extent to measure up to the high standard of the Master of their faith. It is hoped also that this objection will pass away with a better knowledge of and understanding among the races.

As to the objection to Christianity on account of the liquor traffic, it is less tenable than the previous ones, for the Christian church everywhere has set its seal of condemnation upon the liquor habit. The African does not seem to understand how governments controlled by Christians indulge and permit their citizens and subjects to engage in this destructive and damaging trade. They do not comprehend that under our freedom many who are not Christians are willing to brave the public scorn and suffer the social penalties of their Christian fellows to secure the profits of the liquor business. Its prohibition is possible, but the appetite for strong drink is so steady and universal, that it is at least exceedingly difficult to accomplish. No doubt the liquor trade is a curse and blight to Africa, but it is improperly charged to Christianity. It is an evil of society just as slavery was in America and as polygamy is now in Africa. And they will all disappear in time as American slavery did, when the different branches and members of the human race have evolved through the social and religious agencies of civilization to that stage where their abolition are demanded.

And yet with all the advantages which Islam has had for centuries and all the difficulties under which missionaries labor in Africa, the Christian church has little or no reason to be discouraged. For more and more the nations of the earth are being brought closer and closer to what was once the dream of universal brotherhood.

Upon the initiation of the President of the United States of America for the first time in the history of the world, the representatives of all the universally recognized sovereigns of the earth gathered in June 1907 in open and free discussion at The Hague. An International Court was

established; thirty-five out of forty-five states were committed to the high principle of obligatory arbitration; and The Hague Tribunal was transformed from a directed to a self-governing body of all of the world sovereignties with power to define its own limits and determine its destiny. Fifteen other separate and independent and powerful international bodies, working in every sphere of international interests, ethics, economics and society, have organized and combined to declare that the interest of all the nations is one and that the international business of the world is to be transacted in harmony, unity and peace. The spirit of the Christ is abroad among the nations, and in countless ways and subtle forms it is influencing the world affairs of men as it never did before. The Christian prospect brightens and as we look over the field we find it difficult to resist the thought that one day even in Africa the Crescent must wane before the Cross.

In the presence of this thought I am reminded of a master painting at Paris which I never can forget, whose tenderness and beauty distinguished it from all the rest. It was a picture of light and love, and represents an immortal scene in Bethlehem. Early morn can just be seen breaking the glad news on the distant, misty mountain tops. In an old stable a happy mother fondles in her arms her Infant Babe. Carrying in a basket two little turtle doves a beautiful shepherdess gazes with admiring wonder upon this Infant Child, whose life is still illuminating the world as his Body then lighted the faces of those who stood about, astounded and amazed. Like a peasant before a king with a common stick in his hand here stands an old shepherd. And just beyond is a young herdsman, with one hand on the manger and the other on a large dog, watching in ecstatic joy a bevy of angels balancing themselves above upon a cloud, and from whose honeyed lips there seemed to come this sweet refrain;

Peace on earth and good will to men.

At the bottom of the picture are these simple and impressive words:

The Prince of Peace, the Light of the World.

GEOGRAPHICAL FACTORS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

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The geographical factors here to be considered as affecting the development of South Africa are: Its position with respect to other parts of the world and its distance from them; its dimensions, boundaries and climates, and a few of the larger features of its topography.

The position of South Africa in the southern hemisphere of the earth is such that the sun passes high across the sky from right to left, instead of from left to right, as with us in the northern hemisphere; and this is I believe the earliest reported general peculiarity of that far country; for old Herodotus recorded two thousand years ago that, as he was told, a party sent out from Egypt sailed south along the east coast of Africa, until, after turning west for a time, they sailed north along the west coast and entering between the pillars of Hercules returned home through the Mediterranean; he adds, the explorers said that while they were farthest south, the sun crossed the sky from right to left; a story which the faithful old historian said he put down as it was told him, though he did not believe it.

Now if sun dials had been first invented in that southern region and had there set the fashion for marking the hours on our clock faces and watch dials in the northern hemisphere, nine would have been on the right and three on the left; but such is not the case. On the contrary, all the southern hemisphere clocks and watches are numbered in northern hemisphere fashion, counting around from left to right, with three and nine "where they belong."

Again: our midshipmen are taught that the winds of cyclonic storms whirl against the sun in the northern hemisphere, but with it in the southern hemisphere. As a mat-

ter of fact, inasmuch as the sun's diurnal motion and the whirling winds of cyclonic storms both depart in the southern hemisphere from their habit of turning in the northern hemisphere, the winds of southern hemisphere storms really turn against the sun's motion in the southern hemisphere, just as is the case with the two motions in the northern hemisphere. But a little thing like the movement of the sun in a remote hemisphere is not enough to disturb a northern seaman's empirical rule; and it is therefore still the fashion to teach our midshipmen that the winds of southern storms turn with the sun, although a few days' observation of the facts in the southern hemisphere will suffice to show the midshipmen that such is not the case. Indeed the meaning of the seaman's phrase "with the sun" is not learned by looking at the sun in the sky, but by blindly remembering that it means from left to right; and the phrase has this meaning all over the world.

Both of these trifling matters as to the numbering of clock faces and the seaman's empirical rule, illustrate a large principle: The several land areas of the southern hemisphere, of which South Africa is one, are so comparatively small and so far separated, that they have not developed a civilization of their own, and therefore in nearly all civilized matters they submit to the dictation of the northern hemisphere. This is not a matter of chance; it is an evident consequence of the unsymmetrical distribution of the continents with respect to the equator.

The position of South Africa with respect to lands and waters is one of remoteness and isolation. On three sides, east, south and west, it faces broad oceans, nowhere less than two thousand miles across, and very little interrupted by islands. The force of the waves, as they break on the rocky coast of the Table Mountain range by Cape-town, brings vividly to mind the vast uninterrupted stretch of waters on which the westerly winds of the South Atlantic sweep. Not only is South Africa far from its southern neighbors, but the Africander would gain little by traversing any one of the three southern oceans; he would find an uninhabitable polar land to the south; and on the east and west

he would reach only two remote offshoots from the centers of civilization. The three southern habitable lands are indeed so far separated from one another that all eyes in any one of them turn for a sight of the greater things of life, not to each other, but to the northern hemisphere, in spite of its still greater distance. The fact that the nearest of the northern lands to South Africa is India, a densely populated country, has an important bearing on the peopling of the east African coast, as will be further indicated below, in connection with the monsoon winds.

How striking is the contrast of this remoteness and isolation of Cape Colony with the neighborliness of the other end of Africa; for while the southern extremity of the continent has for a nearest neighbor the barren Antarctic regions, lying beyond a broad and boisterous, icy sea, North Africa faces across a comparatively narrow and truly temperate sea, well named the Mediterranean, interrupted by many islands, toward the most favored lands of the world. Pity, that so well placed a land should be in so large measure a desert! Striking, that the desert on the south has for ages been a greater barrier than the sea on the north; for beyond the desert the single continent is inhabited by another race of men, while the borders of the two continents around the sea are inhabited chiefly by a single race.

On the fourth or northern side of South Africa lies an imperfectly known wilderness, occupied chiefly by savages, even though lately partitioned off among civilized European nations. The subjugation of this wilderness offers great problems for the future; but up to the present time, the vast extent of unknown or little known land northward from the southern colonies has been a hindrance to travel, a barrier against Europe. All communication has been by vessels on the sea surface, and by cables on the sea bottom; the overland railway is a thing of the future, perhaps not much sooner to be realized than the more open route through the air.

The effects of the element of distance by which South Africa is separated from the rest of the world deserve careful analysis. Distance is of course to be measured from

some starting point; and what point is more appropriate for our present purposes than that region from which the dominating influences of civilization have spread over the earth; namely, west central Europe; that extraordinary part of the world, already mentioned as the most favored division of the lands, in which the enlightened peoples of the world have been developed and from which they have gone out to all other lands in most cases to dominate them; while the peoples of other lands, now widely distributed in many parts of the world besides their original home, have never gained footing in Europe; only the Laps in the far north and the undesirable Turks in the southeast calling for exception from this extraordinary rule.

From west central Europe then, South Africa is distant some five thousand or six thousand miles, and this distance must be measured over water, for, even though the shortest line or great circle course passes largely over land, the overland line is today a much longer route of travel, measured in time, than the somewhat roundabout course over the sea, by either the east coast or the west coast route. Some day, and probably not very far in the future, as history measures time, the Cape-to-Cairo railway will be completed. Whatever difficulties and delays continental transportation with its several trans-shipments will there encounter, it will have one great advantage with respect to intercourse; that is, there will be stations all along the line, promoting continuity of relations, instead of blank stretches of water, which establish discontinuity and thus aid distance in emphasizing isolation.

As to this commonplace element of distance, we are apt to treat it somewhat disrespectfully in these modern days; and to urge that it is practically annihilated with respect to diplomatic affairs, to the larger events of the world's news, and to the more important business transactions, by the use of land wires and submarine cables. True it is, that the address delivered by Sir George Darwin at the opening of the great bridge over the gorge of the Zambesi River just below the Victoria Falls in 1905 was printed in the London papers that same evening: and the newspaper cor-

respondent who accompanied the party fairly enough bragged about this as remarkable achievement. We also know that transportation is now so easy, so quick, and so cheap that the people and the products of the most distant lands are interchangeable quantities; that newspapers, magazines and books go everywhere and tend to unify language and thought, and that post-office facilities, with the use of the Roman alphabet and of Arabic numerals, are making a large part of the world's population acquainted with each other and bringing them into common ways of doing many things.

All this is true; but to say that distance is annihilated is like saying that the Great American Desert, as a name applied to our southwestern arid region, is to use a popular phrase, "wiped off the map"; certainly the words, Great American Desert do appear less frequently on our maps now than formerly; but the desert is there; and all the extension of the reclamation service cannot transform more than small parts of it into irrigated oases, or "settlements," as we call them. There is a vast, permanently dry region in our southwestern States, persistently held under nature's climatical control, in spite of every artful modern improvement by means of which so many small areas in the desert are developed to their utmost.

So it is with the element of distance in regard to South Africa. So far as communication and transportation are concerned, it is the time element, closely associated with distance, that is reduced; practically to no time in case of telegraphing, and to only three or four weeks in case of travel and traffic. But the actual distance does not shrink: and it is to the deeper, slow-growing consequences of this irremovable element that I wish to ask especial attention. For though the influence of distance is not immediately apparent, it acts unceasingly, like gravity and climate; and when combined with the other factors that produce discontinuity, it in time must affect many of the deeper concerns of life. We must remember that distance is one of the chief factors of isolation, and that isolation in the organic world has been of fundamental importance in giving opportunity

for the development of different species. Distance undoubtedly lies at the bottom of the various causes which have resulted in the development of different races of mankind, and, along with differences of race, differences also in language, in religion, and in many ways of looking at and thinking about things. Distance acts to break old tradition; witness the sociological innovations of Australia and New Zealand, in contrast with the conservatism of Great Britain. Witness again the fact that in none of the many colonies settled from Europe, where aristocracy is so deep rooted, has a titled nobility found permanent place. Distance seems in recent centuries to have exercised a selective influence on a middle group of modern population, between what may be called a higher group, which, having abundant means and satisfied ambitions, prefers to stay at home, and a lower group, which has to stay at home because it has neither means nor ambition to go away—abstraction being made of the melancholy class of deported criminals and vagrants, whose redemption was formerly shirked by the home country. The middle group has had the ambition to better its middling state, and the means to make a try at its ambition; thus the middle group has been the colonizing group, which moved away from the home population to fill the distant ends of the earth.

When the distant colony is reached, the most enterprising and aggressive new-comers press to the frontier; gentleness, considerateness, forbearance in their dealings with others, especially with inferiors, are less common with the invaders than the contrasted qualities of roughness, dominance and intolerance. The hasty acts of the isolated frontiersman are seldom restrained by a tempered public sentiment in favor of patience and conciliation, for at the outpost of civilization there is no public to have a sentiment. Thus again but in a smaller way, distance acts in the distant colony to sift its population.

Distance, moreover, aids the colonist in his new surroundings, with his new needs and new opportunities, to develop his own new way of doing old things; for it decreases the amount of interference he will suffer from the old country,

and thus gives his new surroundings fuller opportunity of producing their due effect. Not that new habits are produced directly by distance, but that they are the responses to the new kinds of climate and soil and products which are found in the distant colony. If the same new conditions of climate and soil were provided next door to England, on a land area closely and broadly welded to the mother country, instead of on a land area remotely isolated from it, their influence would be far less profound, because abundant intercourse would then be maintained between the two areas; and active intercourse between two regions tends to prevent the elements of local environment in a new region from having their full effect in producing local departures from the old habits that had previously been developed in the other region.

South Africa is not only far away from Europe, but, from its relative position, it is out of the way of travel to most other distant places; hence it is all the more isolated from the rest of the world. Before the adoption of the Mediterranean-Red Sea route between Europe and the Orient, South Africa was to some degree in the way; just as Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard were, in the days when there was choice of conveyance between sailing packet and stage coach, to some degree in the way between Boston and New York. But no one stops nowadays at those islands on the way between our two cities; and so dominant is the centralizing influence of Europe that hardly anyone stops at South Africa nowadays, on the way to some other place; unless it may be an Antarctic explorer on his way out or home: and South Africa is not yet large or important enough to have much traffic of its own in the way of steamship lines radiating to Australia, India, and America.

I wish it were possible to present all the consequences of the geographic factor of distance, but that is a greater task than I can undertake. Indeed the little I have already said savors almost as much of deductive expectation as of induced generalization. But I am persuaded that distance is a factor of large value and that its working will repay close observational study on the ground. The difficulty in such

a study is that the action of distance, in giving comparative freedom from old influences and thus in favoring the action of new influences is difficult to identify, but careful search and close scrutiny may discover signs of it, and even only well grounded suppositions as to its effects would, to my understanding of the problems here involved, be a welcome change from the older habit of taking things for granted without inquiry, or of ascribing things to the "inborn spirit of the people" without analysis of their natural causes. We must constantly remember in this connection that all the Romance languages have branched from the parent Latin stock and gained their individual qualities largely under the long-continued influence of distance, as a means of preventing mixture; and while, for the future, the art of printing and the wide spread of systematic education will greatly lessen the rate of language change, change will surely go on to some extent; indeed it is actually going on! The Boers who of all the South African colonists, have been longest separated from their parent country, no longer speak pure Dutch. The addition of Dutch and of native words is already causing South African English to depart from the mother-tongue, in spite of all the Africander's affection for the old country which he, southern born, nevertheless calls home.

But it is in the natives of the southern half of Africa that we have the best illustration of the enormous value of the distance factor, provided that it has had time in which to work. With oceans on three sides and a broad desert on the fourth, central and southern Africa, far from other lands, have come to be the home of a race of mankind unlike other races, as they are unlike it. Whatever may be the intimate of racial differences, distance and time have given opportunity for their development. Time is a historical factor; and I therefore suggest to those, in which, it is to be hoped, both geographers and historians are present, the problem of determining by a judicious comparison of many examples how great a distance, how complete an isolation, and how long a time are necessary in order to develop racial and national characteristics.

acteristics. Perhaps we must ask the aid of archeologists and geologists in solving such a problem. For one I should be greatly interested in its solution; we could then much better than now give appreciative attention to the degrees to which existing nations and races are differentiated. We might be able to do still more; we might be able to make a beginning at least in the discovery of the more delicate causes which, under the opportunity afforded by distance, isolation and time, have produced the actual differences which characterize different peoples. As a step towards such discovery, nothing can be more helpful than historico-geographical conferences, of the kind in which we are here taking part; but many such must be held before we shall have made great progress.

In the meantime, it would be well if all who have to do with South Africa, either in the way of settlement, trade, missions or administration, would remember that long inbred racial characteristics always include peculiar ideas and ideals, and that it is immensely difficult for a lower race to give up its own standards and accept the standards that are brought to it by a higher race from far oversea. A trained understanding of anthropological problems, supported by a sympathetic interest in the well-being of native races, would go far in reducing the dissensions and in preventing the quarrels that usually characterize the advance of a civilized race into the land of an uncivilized race.

Climate is a geographical factor much more generally recognized than distance, and the climatic factors of South Africa are well marked. The southern part of South Africa, the region to which I am here giving most attention, belongs in the so-called south temperate zone; a name, like latitude and longitude, imposed on the world at large from the little Mediterranean region of classic times, but doubly a misfit in the southern hemisphere, first because it implies that the south temperate zone is a duplicate of the north temperate, with only such changes as are seen in the left hand passage of the sun, and in the displacement of the seasons from the months to which we of the northern hemisphere habitually assign them; while as a matter of fact the south temperate

zone is on the whole an oceanic zone, and hence strongly unlike the north temperate zone, which is a land and water zone, with a larger proportion of land than is included in any other climatic belt. As a result, the climate of the south temperate zone is inclement rather than temperate:— witness the untempered climate of far South America and the neighboring islands in latitudes no higher than those which in Europe permit an abundant population. As far as southernmost Africa is concerned, its climate around the coast is fairly temperate; yet as soon as the interior is reached, there are strong diurnal and seasonal ranges of temperature that, like those of northern interior lands, are anything but temperate in the proper meaning of the word.

The southern coastal border of Cape Colony has an interesting climatic peculiarity in the way of winter rainfall and summer droughts, because it lies under the southern meteorological tropic—not the geographical but the meteorological tropic; that is, under the ill-defined band of high atmospheric pressure which separates the trade winds from the stormy westerlies. This band shifts with the sun, and so determines wet and dry seasons. I wish it were politely permissible to give some account of the cause of this shifting, for it is a fine example of the elaborate interaction of various forces, in which now one component, now its opposite gains a slight ascendancy; and as a result the band separating the two wind belts oscillates in an annual period over some four or five degrees of latitude; but the presentation of this problem involves the introduction of technical terms having a physical or mechanical flavor, such as poleward temperature gradients, isobaric lines, centrifugal force, and so on; terms, the understanding of which demands that one shall have traveled along a somewhat scientific and disciplinary path before an enjoyable prospect is attained; a path moreover that is not, as is the case with the equally difficult and disciplinary path that leads to a really enjoyable understanding of the Classics, associated with polite learning and literature; hence, beautiful and admirable as the delicate relation of the forces involved in the oscillation of the wind system is, it remains outside of the polite circle of cultured intercourse,

admission to which is reserved chiefly for thoughts gracefully phrased and easily understood. But the results that follow from the oscillation of the wind belts is plain enough. The summer of Cape Colony, December to February, is dry; the winter, June to August, provides most of the moderate rainfall: hence in this respect the Colony is like southern Australia and a middle part of Chile in the southern hemisphere, and like the Mediterranean countries and southern California in the northern hemisphere; all of these districts being climatically known as subtropical.

The annual distribution of rainfall in subtropical countries is not simply an unrelated scientific fact; it is a climatic factor which determines that irrigation is needed as an aid to agriculture in the growing season. Hence the early Dutch settlers had before them a problem, the very reverse of that drainage problem which had so long troubled their ancestors at home, where the Rhine and the sea threaten their best lands with overwhelming floods. Irrigation would have been much more important in South Africa if the rivers there were perennially fed from lofty mountains; but unhappily the mountains of the South African subtropical belt are not high enough to provoke much rainfall; the rivers run with seriously decreased volume in summer time; and irrigation, as thus far developed, is of moderate importance. Nevertheless, the lowlands and the valleys near the coast contain many pleasant villages with a thrifty agricultural population. A striking feature of Cape Colony is the scarcity of native trees. Botanical evolution has there been a failure in this respect, though remarkably successful in developing a peculiar vegetation. Curiously enough, trees from other continents find the climate of southernmost Africa congenial; pines from the Mediterranean lands, and eucalyptus and mimosas from Australia are now abundant.

If we now consider the variation of climate with latitude, we may pass a short distance northward from Cape Colony into an inner region, to which the winter rains do not extend from the south nor the summer rains from the north; hence we find there an arid region, the Karroo, not absolutely bare of vegetation, but truly barren in being extremely

unproductive of the kinds of plants that man likes to cultivate. There is some scanty herbage for sheep and goats, yet hardly enough for profitable cattle raising; but ostrich farming may come to be a characteristic of the Karroo, although it is destined long or always to remain thinly populated. The villages at the railroad stations in the Karroo are in so desolate a landscape as to make the traveler wonder what the villagers subsist upon.

Still farther north in the interior plateau region is the treeless Veldt, a highland of dry and mild winters followed by hot summers in which an irregular rainfall comes in heavy showers, sometimes in drenching floods. This is the great pastoral region; here the Boers came in their "Treks," and became great landlords; but here are gold and diamonds also, with the resultant crowded mining populations, and there is said to be much copper farther inland: hence inner South Africa has altogether different problems to deal with from those of agriculture alone. Farther north, the summer rains increase in amount, until they merge with those of the equatorial belt in its southern migration; and with increase of rainfall comes the forested country along the Zambezi, with scattered and gnarled trees at first, as if they had a hard time to survive seasons of drought, but farther on with more abundant growth; and thus South Africa passes into Central Africa.

We habitually think of climate as varying chiefly with latitude. If there is any part of the world of which that style of variation is characteristic, it is the great south temperate zone, where the mean annual isothermal lines so nearly coincide with the parallels of latitude, especially on the oceans. But wherever the southern continents extend into the south temperate oceanic belt, there are climatic variations of great significance along the parallels of latitude, east and west.

In South Africa the winds come more from the east than from the west. Hence the east coast of South Africa is climatically much better favored than the west coast.—The slopes and lowlands of Natal and Mozambique, where the ¹nt is made from the interior highlands to the Indian

ocean, have abundant rainfall and much forested land; while German Southwest Africa, where the highlands fall off more gradually to the Atlantic, is for the most part a desert, even to the seashore. For the same reason, the interior areas now called Orange River Colony and the Transvaal were chosen by their European settlers on the east of the continental axis, towards the rainy coastal slope where they get more rainfall, while the dry western half of the interior, including the Kalahari desert, was avoided.

The monsoon winds of the Indian ocean deserve mention here, for they have had a strong effect on the distribution of population. The monsoons between India and equatorial Africa blow alternately in opposite directions, from the northeast for about five months while the sun is south of the equator, and from the southwest for five other months; while the sun is north; and this has from time immemorial promoted interchange between two continents. As a result, the stronger of the two races, the Indians, have invaded the east coast of Africa and extended southward as far as Natal; and through all this stretch they and not the African natives are the small traders. There has been no such foreign immigration on the west coast where monsoons are wanting and South America is far away.

The northern border of South Africa, here limited climatically in the neighborhood of the 18th degree of south latitude, does not follow the irregular political boundaries of English, German and Portuguese dominions, except for the line between German "Southwest" and Portuguese Angola. The area thus delimited measures over a thousand miles north and south; and over thirteen hundred miles across the northern side. Its coast is singularly simple. It has very few islands: of the few that it formerly had, one is now attached to the mainland by a belt of wave-swept sands, and forms the peninsula of Table Mountain range, at the northern end of which Cape Town has a moderately good harbor. Nearly all the other islands are hardly more than rock ledges. The coast has few bays; the largest are on the east coast, and to each of these a railroad descends from the highlands, one from Rhodesia, and the other from the Transvaal,

both in competition with the line farther south from Orange River Colony to Durban, an exposed port on the nearly unbroken coast of Natal. Hence to remoteness and isolation, we may now add compactness of outline, such that the natives were never led to become a seafaring people, by reason of islands tempting trials at navigation; and such that seafarers from elsewhere found few good harbors in bayheads, where they might land on their way into the interior.

The origin of the simple coast line of South Africa is an interesting problem regarding which further investigation is needed, but the facts already acquired indicate that the existing extremity of the continent is only the remaining part of a formerly more extensive continental area, large parts of which have been bent or broken down and submerged, while the surviving land area has been broadly uplifted to its present plateau-like altitude. The evidence in favor of this view is particularly striking along the southeastern coast, where the large-pattern arrangement of the geological structure is obliquely truncated by the shoreline, in such a way as immediately to suggest the loss of a bordering fragment of unknown but of significant size. The east-west mountain ranges of southernmost Africa lead to a similar conclusion when they are followed to their eastern ends; one range after the other is there cut off by the shoreline, without any sign of a termination in the folded structures which determine the well defined mountain alignment. Deep water is soon reached in the Indian ocean eastward from these obliquely truncated structures, thus suggesting the deep depression and submergence of a former continental area; a suggestion that should be borne in mind, in all discussions of the so-called "permanence of continents."

The most significant characteristic of the relief of South Africa is its topographic simplicity over a vast interior area; and this seems to be a matter of anthropogeographic importance as tending to develop political unity. Around the coasts, there is a certain measure of diversity, but the interior plateau is characterized by comparative uniformity over vast distances.

The east-west ranges of Cape Colony, just mentioned, are serious but not formidable barriers against penetration inland: fortunately they are cut through by a number of deep water gaps, which serve as gateways from the coast settlements to the interior. The inner members of the east-west valleys back of the larger ranges are so dry that they are and must remain thinly inhabited, and hence are not likely to become politically independent of the better favored and less sparsely settled coastal lowlands. Along the eastern side, the plentifully peopled coastal lowlands, are backed by a rapidly rising country, too rugged to permit close settlement, and of value only as it is related to the coast. Along the western side, the climate is arid and much of the coast is desert, even in immediate proximity to the ocean. Here Germany is, diplomatically speaking, a leading factor; but it seems impossible that even so enterprising a people as the Germans can ever, notwithstanding the pressure for expansion at home, come to be numerically important in this forlorn colonial possession.

The interior of South Africa is essentially indivisible for civilized occupation. It is an extended plateau, somewhat diversified by isolated hills and mountains which rise singly and in groups, but which nowhere extend in sufficient height and length to form a chain of such importance as to determine a natural political boundary; the mountains are nowhere continuous enough to suggest the division of the interior into permanently separated states. Here again, distance more than any other element has determined such political divisions as have been defined. Cape Colony is not limited to the southern belt of east and west ranges and valleys, but extends into the interior beyond Kimberly as far as its influence can reach. The Transvaal is merely beyond the Vaal River from the Orange River Colony; Rhodesia is simply the farther interior, too far for the earlier Boers to occupy; and hence left over for later development by farseeing and dominating British invaders.

Various minor political divisions, such as Griqualand West—if it still remains on the map—can be regarded as only provisionally set off from the larger possessions; for

the small political units of the interior have no such individuality as will long maintain their separate existence. Moreover all the interior colonies are absolutely dependent on the coastal lands for their opportunity of intercourse and commerce with the rest of the world; there may be a northward overland outlet constructed, but it will involve transhipment on lakes, and hence its tolls will be so heavy that the more roundabout oversea transportation lines will underbid it. So long as the interior was peopled only by scattered Boers on cattle ranges, who were content to be let alone, their political independence was conceivable; but when extensive mining operations were undertaken, and when vast capitalistic enterprises were planned for the development of the farther interior, none of the interior populations could be let alone. They must all grow together. Nevertheless, there are certain factors which determine diversity of population and of interests, and which must therefore be managed with skill in order to bring about the political unity that seems to be so manifestly the destiny of South Africa. The first of these factors is racial diversity: Europeans, East Indians, and Africans, with the latter in great majority especially in the interior. The second factor is industrial diversity, with the present extremes in cattle farming and mining, one a primitive occupation, involving little skilled labor, and a sparse scattered population composed of landlords and serfs; the other a highly elaborated occupation, involving much skilled labor, expensive mechanical equipment, and a densely compacted population at a few centers. The further consideration of the problems thus suggested leads too far from my theme for further consideration here, but they will be actively discussed in the next half century by all who are interested to watch the progress of a dominant civilized minority in relation to a subordinate uncivilized majority. Let us hope that the minority may act so justly as never to tempt the majority to violent revolution.

CONSTITUTION MAKING IN CHINA

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For the past ten years China has been one of the most interesting portions of the globe. In fact it would not be an untenable position to maintain that China, during that period, has been the most progressive of nations. Not in the sense that she has outdistanced the others, but that she has made greater strides away from her condition of a decade ago. The nature of these changes and reforms has been indicated from time to time in the press. Any one of the great measures would be in itself notable and almost unbelievable to a person who only knew the China of a generation past. All of them combined make a program which should arouse the wonder and admiration of all sympathetic observers.

The new China was born in the agony of the Boxer madness of 1900. Some would trace its origins to the new ideas introduced by the missionaries and the handful of Chinese who had studied abroad. But it appears unquestionable that no sweeping changes could have been made without the support of the Empress Dowager, and it was not the hurried reforms of 1898 but the humiliation of the defeat and flight in 1900 which caused her remarkable *volte face*. Before the return of the court from exile she had contritely acknowledged the inability of the old system to meet the demands of the new conditions. Her decree of January 28, 1901, although issued in the Emperor's name, was a most remarkable document and it is undoubtedly true that "no other ruler of the dynasty could have proclaimed such drastic changes without causing serious dissensions and possibly civil war." Frankly she told her people she had decided "that we should correct our shortcomings by adopting the

best methods and systems which obtain in foreign countries, basing our future conduct upon a wise recognition of past errors." And with her tremendous influence and masculine energy behind the new forces, success seemed assured.

Slowly, in comparison with its later speed, the reform movement developed. There was a great program summed up in that single sentence. It meant sweeping changes in education, a new army and navy, a reformed currency, uniform weights and measures, codification of law and procedure, reorganization of the local administration and of the relation between the central and the provincial governments, and other correlated reforms. In one particular she went beyond the foreigners for she opened a campaign against opium in spite of vested interests. The least of these undertakings would be no small matter under the conditions which prevailed in China.

The domestic situation was hardly favorable. Granting all the desirable characteristics of the Chinese people there were many disturbing factors. The enormous area of the country, the differences in customs and manners and speech, the grinding poverty of the masses, the ignorance, the conservatism, the official corruption, and the increasing antipathy of the Chinese for the Manchu. And within nine years after the first edict the strong hand of the Empress Dowager was removed by death.

Nor could China devote all her attention to setting her house in order. Foreign complications distracted the attention of her statesmen. First came the Russian peril, followed by the great Russo-Japanese war fought on Chinese soil. The success of Japan gave the reform movement a great impetus and after 1905 it swept on with little successful opposition. Then the Manchurian question became again pressing, with Japan in Russia's disquieting position. Boundary questions in every quarter, negotiations regarding foreign loans and concessions, and a new Russian peril in Mongolia, interfered with the consideration of domestic affairs of the highest importance. And yet these foreign menaces were not an unmixed evil. Just as the establishment of foreign naval stations on the gulf of Chihli in 1897

and 1898 gave fuel to the Boxer flames, so the fear of Japan and Russia in Manchuria, and of the possible dangers from the foreign loans, aroused a genuine patriotism throughout the empire and strengthened the argument for popular participation in the government.

Bearing in mind the conditions, domestic and foreign, during the past ten years, it is difficult to see how anyone can be pessimistic about the progress of the reforms in China. Not that so little has been done, but that so much has been accomplished should be the feeling of the foreign observer. A nation which can sweep aside a venerated system of education and of civil service and which can wage, with such unexpected success, a battle against opium, certainly deserves the benefit of any doubt. Yet it is well to be on one's guard not to expect too much in too short a time. Four hundred million people cannot be made over in a day or in a generation. "Direction and not distance" is the vital test, and that China is moving in the right direction seems self evident.

Typical of the new forces, looming large in the minds of the progressive Chinese, and yet not, perhaps, first in importance, is the movement for a constitution and representative government. A "parliament for China" would have sounded unreal enough a few years ago, and yet in a little over a year the inaugural session will take place. A long period of preparation for such an important step might well be considered necessary, but the government has moved, perhaps against its better judgment, with unexpected celerity. Less than seven years will have elapsed between the pledge of a constitution and the summoning of a national assembly.

The example of Japan was, naturally, constantly before the Chinese officials. As the first Oriental country to adopt a western form of government, and apparently with the most satisfactory results, her career might afford a safe guide for China. Just as Japan was enabled to pick and choose the best features of western civilization, so was it possible for China to take advantage of all that Japan had learned. In Japan constitutional government was the free grant of

the throne after a long period of national preparation. The unerring wisdom of the advisers of the Emperor, during this trying period, account largely for the success which has been attained. In 1868 the Emperor took the famous Charter Oath which pledged the summoning of "an assembly widely convoked." The next year the Kogisho, a consultative body representing the daimios solely, held a session. In 1874 the first assembly of prefectoral governors was held, and the next year the Genro-in, or Senate, composed of official nominees, was formed. Beginning in 1873 the liberal leaders agitated for a constitution and representative institutions and served to prepare the people for the wished-for change. The first representative assemblies were those in the prefectures and cities which met in 1879, and in 1881 the Emperor announced that a constitution would be granted within ten years. These years were marked by careful preparations. The late Prince Ito was entrusted, in 1882, with the duty of working out the draft of a constitution. A new peerage law was promulgated in 1884, the Cabinet was reorganized in 1885, and the Privy Council established in 1888. Finally, in 1889, the constitution was promulgated, and the next year the first Diet was opened. This briefest of outlines serves to indicate that in the case of Japan fully twenty years were devoted to making ready for the new political institutions. And this length of time was a compromise between the liberal and conservative leaders. In China less than one-third of the period has been allowed. It is possible to advance arguments in favor of shortening the time in the case of China, and on the other hand it is perhaps easier to believe that conditions there are less favorable than they were in Japan. In any event an opinion at this stage could be of little value, and a prophecy, in the light of recent developments, of no value at all. Instead, a brief survey of what has been accomplished during the past five years may be of interest.

The definite movement toward a constitution began in December 1905, when a commission was sent abroad to study the workings of constitutional governments. On their return a palace council was held to consider their reports,

and in spite of the opposition of some of the conservative Manchus, a decision in favor of a grant of a constitution was made. This was approved by the Empress Dowager and on September 1, 1906, an edict was issued in the name of the Emperor. The reasons advanced for this remarkable change are striking: "We sent our High Ministers to various countries to study and investigate their governmental systems and administrative methods. Now, these Ministers have returned, and in their report all submitted their opinion, as the result of their study and investigation, that the weakness and inefficiency of our country is due to the lack of close touch between the government and the people and the entire separation of those who are in office and those who are not. The officials do not know how to protect the people, and the people how to defend the country. That other countries are wealthy and strong is primarily due to the adoption of a constitution, by which all the people are united in one body and in constant communication, sane and sound opinions are extensively sought after and adopted, powers are well divided and defined, and financial matters and legislation are discussed and decided upon by the people. Moreover, other countries look to one another for improvement, and amend their constitutions and change their laws to their highest efficiency. So it is not a mere accident that their governments are in such a good working order and their peoples enjoy so great happiness." But the Empress Dowager understood what a constitution implied. "At present no definite plan has been decided upon and the people are not educated enough for a constitution; if we adopt one hastily and regardless of the circumstances, it will be nothing more than a paper constitution. Then how can we stand before the people and ask them to repose confidence in us?" So she outlined the necessary steps which must precede constitutional government. Corruption must be done away with, the administration must be reformed, codes of law drawn up, universal education established, reforms introduced in the finances, the army, and the police, and the people must be taught to understand politics and be prepared to participate in the government. No date was set for the

final adoption of the constitution, but all classes of people were urged "to acquire the qualifications of a subject under a constitutional government."

This was a decision of the first importance. It was generally recognized that the Empress Dowager was thoroughly in sympathy with the movement, and her active supporters were the great Viceroy Yuan Shih-k'ai and the travelling commissioners Tsai Tsz and Tuan Fang. The Japanese press, which was most interested in the developments, was generally favorable as to their success, although in all quarters some pessimistic opinions were advanced and the motives of the Empress Dowager scrutinized. A committee on reforming the administration was appointed, and projects of many kinds were discussed. The question of the division of authority between the central and the local governments was one of the troublesome problems, especially the centralization of the control of the purse and the sword which was vested in the provincial authorities. Typical of the earnestness of the throne, however, was the famous anti-opium edict of September 20 which, better than any other measure of the past five years, has shown, in its enforcement, how gravely well-informed foreigners can underestimate the strength of popular sentiment in China. In November the ministries were reorganized, and with the exception of the Board of Foreign Affairs no distinction was made between Manchus and Chinese.

Throughout the early part of 1906 the air was full of rumors that a conservative reaction had set in. The venerable Chang Chih-tung evinced doubts as to the readiness of the people for so great responsibility, but Yuan Shih-k'ai held his ground. It was he who gave the first test of the representative idea by organizing a municipal government in Tientsin in the summer of that year. The suffrage was based on education and property, the election was indirect, and a rather high qualification for membership was established. The election was held on June 15, the convention on July 24, and the council convened on August 18. Any strength that the conservative leaders might have gained was lost through certain diplomatic developments. The

abdication of the Emperor of Korea and the imminent annexation of that country by Japan, the Franco-Japanese entente, and the expected Russo-Japanese entente, all strengthened the arguments of those who felt that in reform alone lay China's safety. Yuan Shih-k'ai made the most of the situation and again was dominant in government circles. With Chang Chih-tung he was made a member of the Grand Council, and largely on his advice another commission was sent abroad, this time to visit constitutional monarchies only, Japan, Great Britain, and Germany. On September 21 a new advisory council was provided for, which became the Senate.

The next step was the formation of local assemblies. The edict of October 19 commanded the viceroys and governors to establish them, but no details were given. These were supplied on July 8, 1908, having been prepared by the Department of Constitutional Investigation, and one year was given for their establishment.

In the meanwhile the question of a national assembly was frequently under discussion, and in June it is said that eleven of the commissioners voted for calling it in ten years, three favored seven years, and seven favored five years. Those who urged celerity were educated in Japan, while those who urged deliberation were trained in the West. During the summer delegations began to arrive in the capital from various parts of the empire urging the speedy convocation of a national assembly, and their petitions were answered by the edict of August 27 which fixed nine years hence as the time when a constitution would be promulgated and a parliament summoned. The steps in preparation were again outlined in more detail than in 1906. A definite date was now fixed, but this did not satisfy the agitators.

The death of the Emperor and the Empress Dowager on November 14 and 15 was believed by some to presage a reactionary movement, but on December 3 the infant Emperor issued a decree confirming the plans of the late Emperor, and although the Regent, Prince Ch'un, soon dismissed Yuan Shih-k'ai from office his work was not discredited.

The elections for the provincial assemblies began in May, 1909, and on October 14 they were opened by the respective viceroys and governors. Twenty-two assemblies were convened, the membership varying from 30 to 140. Although they were designed to be deliberative bodies they soon showed unexpected signs of independence. The conduct of the provincial officials was at times severely criticized. Government measures were frequently rejected, notably the proposed stamp-tax, and especial opposition was directed against the foreign loan policy of the government. The assemblies also took the lead in petitioning for the speedy convocation of a national assembly, in spite of the nine years program of preparation. A committee representing the assemblies hastened to the capital, but on February 1, 1910, an edict rejected their proposal and announced the Emperor's adherence to the original date. The delegates reluctantly left Peking, but the vernacular press took up the agitation. Again foreign complications urged on the advocates of a parliament. In Hunan and Szechuan popular feeling was aroused against the so-called Four Power loan, and on every frontier boundary-questions were pressing. In June, delegates from twenty-two provinces with representatives of various associations, delegates from residents abroad, and others, assembled in Peking to urge a speedy assembling of the parliament which would lend strength to the empire in its hour of need. Once again, however, after a Palace Council, the petition was rejected on the 27th. But this effort resulted in a permanent organization in Peking to agitate for the desired ends and to secure common action on the part of the provincial assemblies. The annexation of Korea by Japan, on August 22, produced a profound impression upon thoughtful Chinese.

On October 3, the Tzu Cheng Yuan, commonly known as the Senate and really the foundation of the future parliament, was convened in Peking. It had been organized under the edicts of September 20, 1907, and July 8, 1908, and the details of organization were announced on August 23, 1909. The membership consisted of 100 official appointees and 100 nominees of the provincial assemblies. The

President (Prince Pu Lun) and Vice-President were appointed by the throne. The official nominees consisted of members of the royal family, the various imperial clans, the Chinese and Manchu nobility, the hereditary princes of the tributary provinces, and officials, literati, and men of wealth. At the opening session 37 Manchus, 18 Mongols, and 141 Chinese were present. Although a single chamber the Senate contained the elements of two houses, the representatives of the privileged classes, who would form an Upper House, and the representatives of the people, forming the basis of a Lower Chamber. The subjects for discussion were announced as national income and expenditure and the preparation of a budget, methods of taxation and public debts, new codes—which must be approved by the Emperor before being submitted to the Senate, and such other questions as might be presented by the throne. The powers of the Senate were limited. When it had agreed upon a resolution the Presidents, with the approval of the Grand Council or one of the Ministers of State, must memorialize the Emperor, who, if he approved, would issue an edict. If the Senate and the Grand Council or Ministry disagreed the matter must be again considered by the Senate, and if no agreement could be reached both sides must be presented to the Emperor.

As in the case of the provincial assemblies, the Senate soon showed its mettle. The first question under consideration involved the conduct of the Governor of Kwangsi and the Senate did not hesitate to pass a vote of censure. The consideration of official measures was soon interrupted by the presentation of a petition praying that the Senate memorialize for the speedy opening of a national assembly. This was unanimously agreed to on the 22nd amidst much enthusiasm. Even the official members voted for the measure, and from the provinces came petition after petition pointing out that the serious state of foreign affairs and the unsettled financial conditions made a national assembly imperative. After a Council of State on the 30th, the throne yielded in part, and an imperial rescript on November 4 announced that the parliament would be summoned

in 1913, four years sooner than the original plan. Although this announcement was received with unusual enthusiasm, it is of interest to note that in certain quarters it was considered an unreasonable postponement of a vital measure. Mukden and Tientsin were the centers of the continued agitation.

The throne had, apparently, shown weakness in the presence of this embryonic parliament, and the Senators proceeded to take advantage of it. On October 26 the budget had been presented showing a deficit of about 74,000,000 taels. A committee of the Senate reduced this to 14,000,000 taels. Next the Senate vetoed the Hunan loan, on the ground that the consent of the local assembly had not been obtained. A decree informed it that this loan was not within its purview, but also stated that in the future the formalities would be complied with. Then the Senate demanded that the Grand Councilors appear in person to explain this objectionable loan. They refused, and for a time a deadlock threatened, and later, when two measures passed by the Senate were thought to be pigeon-holed by the Grand Council, a unanimous vote of want of confidence was passed. This was withdrawn when the bills in question were finally approved, and instead a memorial was presented praying for a responsible Cabinet. Prince Ching, President of the Grand Council, was the especial object of the Senate's distrust, but he was strongly supported by the Regent, and the memorial for a Cabinet was rejected. Another impeachment, designed mainly against Prince Ching, was carried but was in turn withdrawn after an edict eulogizing the veteran statesman appeared.

These were the more important measures before the Senate, although considerable interest was taken in the queue-cutting resolution which was carried, but rejected by the Regent. Finally, on January 11, 1911, the first session of the Senate was brought to a close. It had lasted for three months and ten days, in which thirty-nine meetings for the transaction of business were held. On the other days the various committees sat. Seventeen bills were left undecided, and the revised Budget was subject to the approval of the Grand Council prior to submission to the throne.

On the whole, the first session of this provisional parliament may be considered a success. It was intended to serve as a training school for members of the national assembly, and it fulfilled this purpose excellently. It proved a useful agency for the expression of popular opinion, and in this way proved a safety-valve, as it were, for the overheated politics of the provinces. Its deliberations were animated by a spirit of genuine patriotism, and it tended to strengthen the national feeling which has been growing so rapidly in China. Criticized because of the presence of a majority of official appointees, it showed fearlessness in the presence of high officials, even attempting to impeach the Grand Council. And although it accomplished less than its members hoped, yet it secured a shortening of the period of preparation for a constitution—a measure of doubtful value from the western point of view, and it gave force to the movement for a responsible Cabinet.

For several months the organization of the Cabinet was under discussion in Peking and on May 9th, the New Cabinet was announced. Prince Ching was appointed Prime Minister, with two Vice Prime Ministers. Ten portfolios were created. Of the thirteen members five were princes, four were Manchus and four Chinese. The Cabinet is responsible to the throne. On some measures it acts as a whole, and the Prime Minister can suspend the orders of individual ministers if he thinks necessary, while considerable independence is vested in the Ministers of the Army and Navy. At the same time a Privy Council consisting of thirty-four members was created.

The last few months have seen the formation of definite political parties, and the continued activity of the provincial assemblies and of their representatives in Peking. The Senate will convene in October in regular session, a request for a special session having been denied by the Regent.

Such have been the steps in the process of constitution-making in China in the past five years, and only a little over a year remains. Certain of these events weaken the force of many of the generally-believed opinions of the Chinese. They have been pronounced conservative, yet

many believe they have moved with dangerous celerity toward popular government, for China has allowed seven years for what Japan considered twenty-two hardly sufficient. They have been called lacking in patriotism, yet the attitude assumed by the local assemblies toward the foreign loans, the annexation of Korea, and the Russo-Japanese convention, shows that in certain powerful circles a national spirit is developing. In any event the past five years have been full of change in China. A host of reform edicts have been promulgated and have been enforced with varying success, depending mainly upon the attitude of the local officials. Some of these reforms are of more fundamental importance than the introduction of parliamentary government—such as the reforms in education, currency, finance, laws and procedure—but no one of them has aroused an equal popular interest. Much remains to be done in the short time that remains. The basis of representation, the suffrage qualifications, the laws of the houses, present problems which will require careful consideration. But the developments of the past few years give reason to believe that the inherent good sense of the Chinese will enable them to meet their problems in a manner satisfactory to them even though not in accordance with western ideas. It is worth remembering that forty years ago it was the custom for many foreigners in Japan to deride her attempts to acquire the vital elements of western civilization. There is no good reason why similar criticisms at the expense of China may not prove quite as far from the point. During these critical years China will well repay the careful attention of all those who are interested in the movement of a people toward better things.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS AMONG THE ZULUS

By J. B. McCord, M.D., Durban, Natal

The Zulu race is today in a transition stage. Probably 90 per cent are living and thinking much as did their ancestors a hundred years ago. The 10 per cent who are coming out of the darkness are the leaders and the others will follow.

The typical Zulu, in his native heathen state, is eminently a creature of impulse. The impulse is apt to be good unless, for some reason, it happens to be otherwise. He is naturally good natured and happy, of a kindly disposition, hospitable and courteous. He is honest as to stealing, but he knows not the truth or what it is made for, though he recognizes that it is reprehensible conduct for the other fellow to lie to him. In warfare, he is brave to rashness, but he is afraid of the dark, for then is when the evil spirits walk. His superstitions are deep seated and domineering and affect his whole life and conduct. He is sometimes clean after a bath, but he is not often guilty of such an indiscretion. He is lazy by nature and drunken when there is any of his native beer available. He is hospitable by custom and so long as his food lasts he will share it with his guest. When his food is finished, he goes visiting. He loves himself and his wives and children and cattle and dogs and everything that belongs to himself. He is loyal to his chief for there is his protection. When the impulse is strong enough on him, he may be unselfishly heroic, for he is a creature of impulse. It would be rather unjust to call him immoral. He is unmoral. Morality as we think of it has never occurred to him. He lives up to his code of morals as a rule. He can't help doing so, for his code of morals is whatever he lives up to. He is warlike, excitable, reserved and

dignified; and if I knew any other contradictory adjectives I should be tempted to apply them to him to complete the description.

In dress the Zulu is an almost complete savage, a leather petticoat for the women, a belt with a fringe of monkey tails for men, and less or nothing for the children. His dwelling is primitive. His house, or hut is made of grass, supported on a frame work of interwoven sticks. In shape it is like the old-fashioned hemispherical bee-hive, with a low door on one side through which one must crawl; and without windows or chimney. He cooks his food over an open fire in the middle of his hut, and the ceiling and walls are blackened by the smoke which finds its way out through the door and through the thatch of the roof.

A kraal consists of a collection of huts, the number depending on the number of wives which the man has. Each wife has one hut for herself and her children. Each kraal consists of one family; that is, a man with all his wives and all their children and perhaps grandchildren. There may be a 100 or 150 people in one kraal.

Polygamy is one of the oldest institutions of the Zulu. A chief may have several hundred wives. The average well-to-do man will have from half a dozen to several dozen, and a man with only one wife has about the same status as a white man with only one slave had in the South before the war. The first thing a young man thinks of when reaching the adult age is the matter of matrimony. He goes away to work for the money for his first wife. After he has the first wife it is easier to get the second, for the first wife by her work assists him. After a man has procured half a dozen wives his fortune is made.

The head of the kraal and all the members of this family are supported by the gardens, which surround the kraal. Each garden consists of several acres, and the gardens are divided among the wives. Each ambitious wife endeavors to have the best garden, and to raise the best food, and prepare the best meals for the common husband. Each wife aspires to be the favorite wife.

Their food consists almost entirely of what they raise in

the gardens, supplemented by an occasional chicken or a goat, and very rarely, by other meat. Their vegetables from the gardens consist chiefly of corn, potatoes, beans, pumpkins and various native vegetables.

The young men, as a rule, do not marry until they are twenty-five or thirty years old. This is chiefly because it takes some time to get the necessary money or cattle to pay for their wives. The girls, as a rule, marry young, almost always before twenty-five and usually before twenty. It is very common for the old men to marry very young wives. This is partly because they have daughters to dispose of, and so have the wherewithal for the purchase of more wives.

The Zulus' pleasures are very largely the pleasures of the senses. He is very fond of his native beer, which is low in alcoholic strength but very high in the quantities which he drinks. Beer drinking parties are the delight of the heathen and the despair of the missionary.

He is also fond of dancing, hunting, eating, gossiping, taking snuff, and fighting. In the good old days before the British government took charge, fighting was one of his favorite occupations, and sometimes developed into a very brutal sport. In the times of Chaka, who carried on war as a business rather than a pleasure, the conquered tribe was either exterminated or incorporated into the tribe of the conqueror. But before the time of Chaka the conquered tribe usually paid a heavy ransom and returned home.

In warfare the Zulu is brave to recklessness. With his spears and his clubs he will charge the firing line of a regiment of white soldiers until he falls. He does not think about retreat.

In health and in strength the Zulu will stand among the foremost of the peoples of Africa. He is much larger and stronger than the East Indian coolie, many of whom are laborers in Natal. In the olden days a weakly child was destroyed; so that the present Zulu race is largely a result of the "survival of the fittest." Even now a weakly child will usually die in infancy, and only the more hardy individuals persist. The Zulu has great endurance and recuperative power. However, he does not often work hard for long

periods of time, and it is doubtful if he has the capacity for hard work, mental or physical, that the white man has.

Though usually strong and in good health the Zulu is still subject to sickness. This is especially true, on account of his ignorance as to the laws of health, and the rules of hygiene. Sickness is present in every large kraal almost constantly. He knows nothing of the germ theory of disease. He believes that sickness comes as a result of poison administered, or as a result of the practice of witchcraft, or from injuries inflicted. He is a firm believer in the law of *cause and effect*. The strangest sickness, in his mind, is the sickness which just came of itself.

The belief in witchcraft is universal. The idea is that certain medicines and combinations of drugs or the ashes of strange objects have an uncanny potency. These, with the aid of the spirits and goblins which they invoke, are capable of working ill to an enemy. Or perhaps they may counteract some evil which is being caused by a similar agency. The makers of these charms and medicines are looked upon as witches and wizards. The makers of the antidotes are called the witch doctors. As a rule the same person combines both professions. A native applies to the witch doctor for a charm to bring about certain results. In case of sickness he applies to him for a charm to drive away the evil spirits which are causing his trouble.

The medicine for causing sickness is administered in the food, thrown on a person's body, placed in the path over which he shall walk, or put on some article which the person will handle. However administered, the magic is potent to bring about the desired result.

The witch doctor, next to the chief, is all powerful in the tribe, as the lives and the health of the various members of the tribe depend upon his skill and his good will. He is supposed to be able to cause sickness and cure disease. He can give charms to the young man to make the right young lady fall in love with him. He can give charms to make the crops grow and the rain fall. Needless to say he is a quack and an impostor of the first order, skilled in the game of bluff, an expert in reading human nature, some-

times something of a mind reader and hypnotist, and practiced in discovering secrets, and then telling them as if they had been discovered by magic.

Contrasted with this ignorant, heathen Zulu we fortunately have the other extreme—a Christian Zulu gentleman who holds the degree of Bachelor of Arts from an American university, and a graduate of one of our theological schools. If you should go to his house you would find it as clean and neat and orderly as you could wish. His wife will invite you to a well-cooked and well-served dinner such as you get in your own home. You are received with every courtesy, and you mentally pronounce him a perfect gentleman. The assumption of equality, or superiority which is sometimes unpleasantly evident in a negro who has lifted himself above others of his race, is entirely absent. You feel that here is a case of one race offering its best courtesies to another race. Between these two extremes there are all sorts and conditions of men, grading imperceptibly from the ignorant, sensual, heathen Zulu to the Christian gentleman.

The Christian Zulus as a rule dress as do the white people, live in upright houses, marry but one wife, are more constant in work and are far more intelligent and advanced in every way than their heathen neighbors. The day schools are making deep inroads into the ranks of heathenism and ignorance. The Christian churches claim many thousand adherents, and today the hope of the Zulu race, and to a large extent of all South Africa, is the Christian and educated Zulu.

Politically the Zulu, the native of Natal, has no standing. He lives in his tribe and is ruled by his chief. The chief's power is less than formerly, but to all outward appearance the chief still rules in his tribe. Above the chief is placed the magistrate, who administers the law, collects taxes, and in general looks after the government of a number of tribes. The native has no vote, nor any voice in the selection of governor, representatives, magistrates, or any of the officials of the government.

In the tribe the land is assigned to the chief, and he in turn assigns it to his various subjects. The whole tribe may be removed by the government from one situation to another. Any individual of a tribe may be removed at the pleasure of his chief or of the magistrate from his holding to any other location. This state of affairs prevents any improvement of the land other than the mere scratching of the surface to get an immediate living. The native fears that if he plants orange trees, or banana groves around his kraal his chief, or some white man will covet it, and he will be sent away. Among the Christian natives who have come out from heathenism and their tribal relations there is a great desire to own land of their own. On the mission stations some few of the natives have acquired holdings in freehold title. Here you will see neat houses and extensive gardens and orange orchards. At present it is very difficult for a native to get a piece of land with freehold title, as the government will not sell him land and has often put great obstacles in the way of his buying land from individuals.

Probably the greatest cross which a native has to bear is the *special code of laws* which apply to him but not to the white man. He must go to the magistrate and get a pass if he wants to take a horse a few miles across country, or if he wishes to go to town to work; and when he gets to town he must get a five days pass if he wishes to visit, or he must take out a special license if he wishes to work by the day, besides a special pass to allow him to stay in town to work. There are a multitude of laws regulating his relations to employers. For many years the native has been the only inhabitant of Natal who has paid a direct tax, until within the last three years. There are multitudes of little laws regulating the native's life. As an example of the laws of trespass; a small boy about twelve years old went to see a friend. He mistook the house and entered the wrong yard. While in this yard he met a policeman. He was promptly arrested for trespass. He was taken to the magistrate and tried without an opportunity to communicate with his master and sentenced to receive ten strokes of the cane. The boy was kept in prison all night, received the

ten strokes and it was not until the next morning that his master obtained his release.

Another draw-back to this native code of laws is that it is interpreted and administered in a great many different ways by a great many different magistrates, and the native has practically no appeal from the decision of the magistrate or policeman who arrests and tries him.

This multitude of little annoying laws and regulations, many of which appear to the natives to be unjust, and which are variously administered—which also appears to the natives, to be unjust—naturally causes great discontent in their minds. When in 1906 a poll tax on all unmarried young men was imposed in addition to the other taxes, the natives resented it. They were told it was a tax on their heads, and as a rule were given no explanation, except that the government wanted the money. This led to an extensive rebellion, in the spring and summer of 1906. This rebellion resulted in the loss of large sums of money to the government, and loss of four or five thousand lives among the natives. However, it called the attention of the white population of Natal very forcibly to the native discontent. After the rebellion a commission was appointed by the government to inquire into the condition of native affairs, and the causes of the native discontent, and to bring in recommendations to remedy the difficulties. After studying the condition of the natives and hearing their grievances in all parts of Natal and Zululand this commission brought in its report. Its introductory remark was that the Natal government's native policy had been weighed in the balances and found wanting. After pointing out the weak points in the government's native policy the commission brought in a number of broad minded and statesmanlike recommendations. The Natal public and the natives waited patiently and expectantly for the government to take action on the report of this commission, but practically nothing was done.

After waiting some time a large number of prominent and serious minded men of Durban organized themselves into a committee for the discussion of native affairs with the idea of urging upon the government the necessity of

taking action along the lines recommended by the commission. In these discussions the Native Affairs Reform Committee have gone over many of the vital and difficult questions connected with native administration. I will speak of a few of the more prominent ones.

The question of the franchise for the native is coming more and more to the front. It is admitted by all that an unrestricted franchise for all the natives, heathen and Christian, is out of the question. The franchise for educated and property holding natives is more worthy of serious consideration. Most thinking men, however, admit that it would be desirable to give all the natives, a chance to be represented in some manner, but opinions differ as to what degree and in what manner. When the convention met which was to discuss a constitution for a union of all South Africa, the question of native franchise threatened to wreck the whole idea of union, for Cape Colony was unwilling to take the franchise from her colored voters and the other colonies were unwilling to give it to their natives. A compromise was finally effected. But most statesmen recognize that some sort of representation must be given to the natives. It seems likely that eventually the natives will have representatives in parliament who will be allowed to speak for the natives on questions affecting them, and possibly have a vote on some such questions. This however is a matter for the future. At present the Zulu has no voice whatever in the government of Natal. There has been a secretary for native affairs who has been expected to speak for the natives, and the governor has been supposed to be the supreme chief and a sort of father to native people. These have been beautiful ideals, but in practice have been most unsatisfactory. But the pressure is increasing and South African statesmen are wondering what sort of a safety valve will be cheapest and most effective.

As stated above, the relation of the native to the land is very unsatisfactory to the native. The present arrangement takes from him all ambition to make permanent improvements. This matter of land tenure for the natives is one of the questions which is occupying the minds of

thinking men in Natal. Shall the land be given to the natives in small holdings? Shall it be sold to them? Shall it be leased to them? Shall they be allowed to own land?

Many think that a large number of native land owners, with twenty or thirty acres apiece, would create a contented industrious and prosperous rural population that would be a good thing for the whole country. Others are afraid that the natives would mortgage their land and lose it all; and these advocate leasing it to them. Others are afraid that the native, if a landowner, would become too independent, would not be willing to go to the towns and large plantations and farms to work. Meanwhile the native is crying out for land of his own. In the past few years the government has been refusing to sell land to the natives where it has been offering the land to white settlers.

The education of the native has caused a great deal of discussion among many different classes of the whites in Natal. The various missionary societies have continued teaching those in their charge, regardless of the various comments. The government of the country has made grants in aid of the various schools, sufficient to pay the teachers, provided the missionary be responsible for the school and keep it up to the required standard. Most of the schools are taught by native teachers.

The opinion of the white population of Natal differs on the question of education as on other questions. Many are for not educating the native at all, believing that he is better in his ignorant heathen state. Other say to teach him to work but not to read. Others cry out against teaching him a trade for fear that he will come into competition with the white workmen. Most of those actively engaged in teaching the native, believe in taking him as far in study of all kinds as he is capable of going.

The native mind is inferior to the mind of the white man in some ways, though not in others. As a rule, the native is capable in the concrete, but fails in the abstract. He is a good linguist and speaker, but a poor mathematician. He is a good musician naturally, and a poor business man. He will make a good doctor, lawyer and minister, but will

probably not keep his accounts in order. He is a creature of impulse and emotion rather than of reason and judgment.

Education will correct some of his failings, but some it will not. The racial difference is deeper than the color of the skin, and we must take this into consideration in watching him advance into the place he is destined to occupy in the history of the world.

About 5 or 10 per cent of the children of Natal attend the day schools. The general trend of popular feelings seems to be rather in the direction of giving all the Zulus educational advantages and even requiring the parents to send the children to school. But we are still a long way from that goal.

The mission boarding schools take the native young to about the point where they would enter high school in this country. In some cases they are carried further in their studies. Some of the Zulu youth have gone to England or have come to America and taken their degrees in the arts and sciences, theology and medicine and law. These few have shown what the Zulu mind is capable of. It is a favorite saying with some that we must allow many generations before we can expect satisfactory results in our education of the Zulu. There are many cases which would go to indicate that if we take a Zulu youth and give him the same advantages educationally that we give the white boy, beginning at the same age, the white boy will find it hard, in certain lines, to keep ahead of his black brother.

One of the greatest obstacles to the advancement of the Zulu in education and Christianization, is polygamy. The government has never interfered with this institution, but even seems sometimes to rather favor it among the heathen. The only obstacle placed in the way of polygamy is the regulation that, in case a man is married by Christian ceremony, he is not allowed to take more than one wife. Most of the missionary societies do not allow polygamy among the members of their church. The reasons for this are obvious.

There are many practical objections to the immediate

abolition of polygamy. The chief objection is its difficulty. Practically all the Zulus have a plurality of wives, at least among the older and wealthier men. These wives have all been paid for, the price being about \$500 each. It would probably cause a rebellion if polygamy were effectively abolished at once. As yet the government has taken no steps to even discourage it. This might be easily done by putting an extra heavy tax on wives subsequent to the first, or by other measures of a similar nature. It seems probable that as the people are educated and Christianized, polygamy will decrease and die out, but that time is not yet.

The Zulu chief is still very much in evidence, and, though his power is less than formerly, he still has great influence with the people. To many it has seemed advisable to curtail his power and eventually abolish the tribal institutions. Such was the recommendation of the last commission appointed by the government to investigate native affairs. Such an endeavor must be entered into with caution and carried out with great tact. However, such a course is still in the stage of speculation and discussion.

The Natal government has always forbidden the sale of intoxicating liquors to the natives. This has been a wise and cautious measure. The native cannot drink liquor in moderation and he would be a danger to the country at large when drunken.

There is a section of the white population which advocates allowing the native to have liquor without restraint, and there has been some agitation to have the Cape Colony wines admitted and sold freely to the natives, so as to enable the farmers of the Cape to have a market for their wine. We hope that such agitation will not succeed, but sometimes it seems likely that it will.

The labor laws affecting the native have caused a good deal of dissatisfaction, as have also the pass laws and a great many other laws which are intended to regulate his every step when he has once left his own kraal. As a rule, in these laws, there is no glaring injustice, but the constant irritation of being arrested for some trifling indiscretion or

mistake, and sometimes imprisoned or whipped for such offense, is very galling. The native rebellion of 1906 was probably caused more by the accumulated irritation of a long series of pin-pricks than by any definite act of injustice on the part of the government, though the poll tax appeared to be the immediate cause.

It is generally recognized by the white population of Natal that the laws regulating the lives and actions of the natives, are sadly in need of revision and correction. The difficulty comes in not knowing what laws to change and how to change them. As a rule, no two men agree; and a just and satisfactory revision of the native code seems a long way off.

Pending the proposed union of all the British colonies in South Africa the Natal Government deferred taking any action in regard to native affairs. It is hoped that the administration of native affairs will be more satisfactory under the Union Government of all South Africa.

The religion of the Zulus has always been very primitive. They have had an indistinct belief in Nkulunkulu the Great, Great Spirit. They also have vague beliefs that the spirits of their ancestors continue to live after death and oftentimes come to help or trouble them. They have very definite beliefs in a great many evil and mischievous sprites and goblins who are capable of all sorts of tricks and misdemeanors. Their belief in witchcraft is more than an indistinct belief. It is to them a distinct knowledge, though probably the ideas of all Zulus on the subject differ, depending on the personal experiences of each one. This belief in witchcraft governs and supports many wicked and immoral and heathenish customs. Their superstitions have always been a great obstacle in the way of Christianity, and enlightenment. It was only after ten years of preaching that the first native professed conversion, sixty-five years ago. At present there are a large number of Christians, a larger number of nominal Christians, and a still larger number of those who have been more or less influenced by the work of the missionaries. Roughly speaking I would estimate that about 10 per cent of the natives have been markedly

influenced by Christianity. But only a fraction of this number are known as Christians. And a still smaller proportion deserve the name.

The adult Zulu who has grown up to manhood in heathenism often becomes converted, but he retains more or less of his superstitious beliefs, and it is difficult for him to grasp the true spirit of Christianity. Among such there are many cases of back-sliding.

Among the educated Zulus the proportion of Christians is large, comparatively few, boys or girls, going through our boarding schools without becoming Christians. There are many discouraging cases of back-sliding among these also, but not so many as among the totally ignorant kraal Christians. But among our Christians there are many bright and shining examples, of strong and steadfast faith and living.

Nearly a hundred years ago the Zulu, under the despotic Chaka, conquered practically all southeastern Africa. His prestige as a warrior still remains, and few of the other races of Africa care to provoke a Zulu. A natural leader of men, a bold and fearless pioneer, and an enthusiastic and capable preacher and evangelist when he has once comprehended the spirit of Christ, his missionary, looks on the Zulu as the hope of all southern Africa, carrying the gospel where once he carried fire and the sword.

JAPANESE ADMINISTRATION IN FORMOSA

By George W. Mackay, M.A., of Tamsui, Formosa

By virtue of the Treaty of Shomanoseki which terminated the China-Japan War in 1895, Formosa was ceded to Japan by the Emperor of China. Steps were at once taken by the Mikado's government to occupy their newly acquired colony. A force of 12,000 men were speedily despatched to take possession of the island. It may be noted that at this juncture Formosa was full of the Imperial Chinese troops who according to the Treaty were to give up their arms and leave the country. Many responded and left for the mainland in peace. But there were still left a large body of loyal but undisciplined men who were determined to oppose the Japanese at all costs. They drew up in battle array near Kelung ready to give battle to the little brown men, who had landed some miles to the east, but were unable to withstand the rushing attacks of the well disciplined and seasoned Japanese veterans. The Chinese forces composed of twelve battalions were driven back and the Japanese army after a day's hard fighting occupied Kelung, the key to northern Formosa. A few days following the Japanese marched southwards meeting practically with no opposition and occupied many important cities, including Taihoku, the capital. At places the Chinese turned out to welcome them, for since the withdrawal of the Chinese authorities from the island much lawlessness existed throughout the country and the people were, therefore, willing to welcome anyone who could restore order and peace. For this reason the Japanese met with less opposition in northern Formosa than it might otherwise have been. Nevertheless the Formosans were determined to throw off the Japanese yoke. A meeting composed of the Chinese officials was called and "presto" a "Formosan Republic" was born with the ex-

governor as president. President Tang now made vast plans to war with the Japanese but was defeated and fled to China. The headquarters of the "Republic" was now transferred to Tainanfu in southern Formosa, and Lin-Yung-fu, the famous pirate and Black Flag Chief, who had given so good an account of himself against the French in Cochin-China, was proclaimed president and commander-in-chief of the forces. The Japanese expedition drawn up to oppose him consisted of 25,826 men besides several thousand military coolies, and 7,200 men as reserves; the whole was led by General Nogi, the hero of Port Arthur. The campaign lasted for several weeks, during which time the Black Flag Chief was attacked by land and Sea. He suffered severe losses and subsequently was forced to flee to China, and the short lived "Republic" came to an end. The total Chinese loss in this campaign were over 10,000 killed. That of the Japanese were as follows:

Died of disease.....	4,642
Sent to Japan for treatment.....	21,748
Remained in hospital in Formosa.....	5,246
Killed in battle.....	164
Wounded.....	515

The end of this campaign, however, was only the beginning of a more serious uprising which lasted for over seven years. As already mentioned the Japanese upon their first arrival were, in some sections of the country well received by the populous, people as a whole who owing to the lawless state existing in the country because of the departure of the Chinese officials, were not at all averse to subject themselves to the rule of their new masters whom they confidently hoped would restore order and peace to the colony. Comparatively few people at that time took up arms against the Japanese except the Hakahs. The forces which opposed the advance of the Mikado's men were the remnants of the Chinese army.

Had the Tokyo government at this opportune juncture introduced a sane civil administration instead of the much regretted, despotic and blundering military rule, much of the later discontent and serious uprisings might have been

averted. As it was the people felt that they were being oppressed and dissatisfaction was expressed on all sides. The Japanese soldiers who were then stationed in the different parts of the island made themselves extremely disagreeable by their harsh treatments of the natives. Many fancied that because they owned Formosa, all the private properties belonging to the people were theirs also. Wherever they went they entered into people's houses, abused the women and took away what things they wanted. Heavy taxes imposed by the Mikado government, too, was another source of complaint. Under the Chinese régime taxes were so light that the people hardly felt the burden, now they were made to groan under them. Besides these, custom duties were greatly increased. This was another source of dissatisfaction. But the loudest complaint of all was the harsh treatment accorded to the natives by the Japanese, especially the military men, who then had charge of all the affairs of the island. They attempted to run everything in a high-handed manner. Elated by their success in the recent war with China, they came to regard the Chinese as inferior beings and treated them accordingly. Naturally the people resented most strenuously these oppressive measures of their new rulers. Redress they could not obtain, they resorted to arms. Simultaneous outbreaks now took place in several localities. The insurgents in many instances attacked the Japanese forces with utter fearlessness and determination. Chinese (Hakah) women with unbound feet, strong and hardy, also, were found, on several occasions, fighting side by side with their husbands and brothers. For several months the warfare continued. The Japanese, civilians as well as soldiers were everywhere attacked. The rebels were determined to drive out the little brown men. Later, however, as thousands of reinforcements arrived from Japan, General Nogi who was then the governor of the island, was able to harass the rebels and to compel many of them to surrender. In the meantime the people especially the peasants, suffered untold miseries. The Japanese troops as they swept from one end of the country to the other, fighting the insurgents as they went, were in most cases

unable to discriminate the rebels from the common people. The result was that thousands of innocent people mistaken for the insurgents were made to suffer. Often a peaceful village was attacked, houses burned and many of the occupants killed. Sometimes without warning innocent farmers working in the fields were made off with and put to death. These exasperated and maddened the survivors so much that thousands joined the forces of the insurgents.

An incident which occurred at Sin Team, a town of some 5,000 inhabitants at this time may serve to show one of the novel methods which some of the Japanese officers had employed in dealing with the problem.

One night a surprise attack was made upon the town and all the male citizens were placed under arrest. They were then brought to a river bank, and tied in groups of five. A minute later the Japanese officers with lanterns in their hands appeared. They gazed intently into the faces of the frightened men, and woe unto him who wore a stern countenance and was tall and strong. Such physical characteristics to these expert phrenologists were considered as proofs that the bearer was a traitor. At once a black mark was placed on his forehead and without further ado, he was executed. When reports of such an infamous act as that became known the inhabitants in that section of the country became so enraged that hundreds who previously had never harbored any thought of taking up arms against the Japanese now flocked to the standard of the insurgents.

On July 11, 1896, the rebels attacked and captured Horesha. The central part of the island now fell into their hands. In June they attacked a town in Goroku and compelled the Japanese garrison to leave their post and flee. A few months previous Lim Toa-pak, the famous brigand chief, besieged Giran, a city of 30,000 inhabitants and caused much disturbance throughout the eastern half of the island. Gradually, however, these insurgents, being hard-pressed by the Japanese took to robbing and plundering and thus degenerated into bands of brigandage—feared and detested by their kinsmen as well as foe. The hardships of the common people were thus doubled. On the

one hand they were robbed by the brigands on the other they were called to endure the oppressive measures of the Japanese. Those living near the savage territories notably were much distressed. For self-defense they hitherto had been accustomed to keep firearms in their houses. Now all these were forbidden by the Japanese who would not tolerate even a sword in a home. The savages knowing that the people were now without arms, began a series of raids upon the nearby villages and farms. Unexpectedly they would swoop down from the mountains and carry off the heads of the defenseless villagers as trophies of their prowess. How many were killed by them is difficult to ascertain, but it is safe to say that fully 30,000 people at this period were forced to leave their homes in order to seek a safer refuge elsewhere. The same state of affairs continued till the Spring of 1898, when a decided change for a better administration came in sight.

The military rule so harsh and despotic was superseded by a civil administration. This change was largely due to Viscount Kodama, who in that year succeeded General Nogi as governor. He made the military administration subordinate to the civil. Henceforth the military men have no voice in the affairs of the colony save those that directly concern their own special fields. In these Viscount Kodama was strongly supported by Baron Goto, one of the ablest of the younger Japanese statesmen at the present time. Under the direction of these two able men steps were taken to suppress the brigandage. The brigands were invited to lay down their arms under most favorable terms. Many did so and became peaceful citizens. Thus the island was once more pacified. The losses on the part of the brigands during these six years (1897-1903) were about 8,000 captured and 7,500 killed. During the same period 2,459 people were killed by them, while the loss of property was estimated at over a million dollars. The total loss of the Japanese was nearly 3,000 killed.

FINANCE

When Formosa came under the Japanese rule in 1895 it was feared that the colony would be a financial burden to the central government. The total taxation of the island at that time amounted to only Y. 2,710,000 annually while the expenditure was estimated at no less than Y. 10,000,000 which must necessarily come from Japan. Two years later, conditions in the colony having much improved, the taxes had risen from Y. 2,710,000 in 1890 to Y. 5,320,000 in 1897. In that year the expenditure of the insular government had also increased from Y. 9,650,000 to Y. 11,280,000 leaving thus a deficit of Y. 5,960,000 to be furnished by the central government. But the subsidies from Japan lasted for only a few years. They decreased year by year as the incomes of the colony steadily grew. It was at one time estimated that Formosa would continue to be a drain upon the Tokyo Government till 1910, but contrary to all expectations the island was able to support itself and become entirely self-supporting in 1905, ten years after the colony passed into the hands of Japan. The total subsidies from the Home Government during this period was only Y. 30,500,000. This seems an insignificant sum compared with the expenditure which other colonizing nations have lavished upon their colonies. Commenting upon the financial success in Formosa Mr. Takekoshi in his *Japanese Rule in Formosa* says

Though Y. 30,000,000 seems a small subsidy for Japan to grant to her colony, still even if it were entirely lost, would it not really be a most profitable investment? In 1897 the imports from Japan were Y. 3,720,000 and the exports to Japan Y. 2,100,000 making a total of Y. 5,820,000. In 1904 the imports amounted to Y. 10,150,000 and the exports to Y. 10,430,000 a total of Y. 20,580,000 which is more than three times what they were seven years before. The total imports and exports from Japan during these eight years was over Y. 113,000,000. Upon a moderate calculation, Japan's profit upon this was no doubt not less than 15 per cent, that is to say some Y. 16,950,000. Moreover by means of the Formosan camphor monopoly the Japanese camphor industry which had almost died out, was revived, and in the four years from 1899-1902 brought Japan a profit of Y. 1,850,000. I do not therefore think it any exaggeration to say that the total profit

which accrued to Japan from Formosa during these eight years was Y. 18,800,000. . . . On the other hand, Japan's gains from trade with the island are increasing every year. If the trade continues to grow as it has done during the last six or seven years, Japan will by about the year 1910 have received back an equivalent of all the subsidies, together with the interest upon them.

Moreover, the Formosan government, without looking to the Y. 35,000,000 which had been raised in Japan as a loan for the purpose of building a railroad and the construction of Kelung harbor in the island was able to defray out of her revenue the expenses of the proposed undertakings. The increase in the revenues during these past three or four years was most encouraging. The year 1906-7 shows an increase of Y. 5,900,000 compared with the preceding year, while the total revenue of Y. 19,766,334 in 1901-2 had increased to Y. 33,871,328 in 1908-9. The most notable increase was the Inland Tax. It had risen from Y. 1,906,-313 in 1091-2, to Y. 6,983,222 in 1908-9.

Under the Chinese régime taxes in Formosa were anything but heavy, but then there were few public undertakings to call for large expenditures. Under the Japanese the state of affairs was reversed. The Japanese government today is doing all she can to make Formosa an up to date and a modern New Japan, but then by so doing they are taxing the people so heavily, especially since the Russo-Japan war that they are made to groan under them. The Formosans, ever ready to avail themselves of material advantages, appreciate greatly the efforts put forth by their new rulers in attempting to make Formosa in all respects equal to Japan, but they do loudly object to the burdensome taxes which the Mikado's government has imposed upon them.

TRADE

Prior to 1894 China occupied a preeminent position in her trade with Formosa. Since then Japan has stepped in and taken her place. Today her volume of trade with her colony is more than all of the other nations combined. In 1898 her imports and exports to the island were Y. 7,815,466.

They have risen to Y. 37,385,118 in 1907. Contrast this with the trade with foreign countries and a sudden falling off in the value of imports and exports is at once noticeable. In 1898 the value of foreign trade was Y. 29,702,595 while in 1908 they have dropped down to Y. 20,962,114. The trade with China has steadily declined while that of the United States with the exception of Japan, shows a greater increase than that of any other foreign nation. In 1900 the total trade with America was Y. 2,485,615 while in 1907 it had risen to Y. 5,365,741. Next to the United States Great Britain has the largest share in the Formosan trade.

The chief articles of export in order of value are, tea, camphor, hemp, rice and coal. The main commodities imported are in the order of value, opium, kerosene oil, cotton goods, timber and flour.

MONOPOLY

There are at present four monopolies in Formosa, viz. opium, salt, camphor and tobacco. The opium monopoly was taken up in 1897 with the view more of safeguarding the public health than as a financial gain. When Japan first took possession of the island a very large percentage of its inhabitants were addicted to the use of opium, it was, therefore, decided to prohibit, not suddenly but gradually, the sale of this pernicious drug. The government accordingly took into its hands all the manufacture and sale of the opium. It permits, however, only the confirmed opium smokers the right of purchasing the drug. The government aims in every way to discourage the use of the opium pipe. In this it has succeeded well. The number of opium smokers is decreasing year by year.

Salt was originally a Chinese and the only monopoly in the island. The salt was obtained from the sea water allowed to evaporate and crystallize on the low and level sandy shores of the west coast. This process of salt manufacture has lately been extended. At present the salt farms cover about 1700 acres, but there are still some 60,000 acres of suitable lands available for this same purpose. The

whole if utilized as salt farms, will be sufficient to supply Japan with all the salt required.

Camphor manufacture is one of the chief industries in Formosa. The island today supplies nearly all the camphor used in the world. Hitherto this trade was in the hands of a few foreigners but now the Japanese government assumes the full control of it, including the establishing of factories and the preservation of the camphor forests. This monopoly of all the Japanese monopoly attempts is the most successful. It brings into the Imperial Treasury annually no less than Y. 1,500,000.

The tobacco industry in Formosa has never been carried on on an extensive scale. The tobacco plants grown in the island are generally of the inferior quality. Imported plants have during these few years been tried and though doing well, the quantity is as yet insufficient for any extensive manufacture.

TRANSPORTATION

Up till 1895 all the carrying trade between Formosa and the outside world was mainly in the hands of the British. Since then the British ship owners by reason of their inability to compete with the Japanese lines, heavily subsidized by the government, were forced to withdraw. Today there are several lines of good serviceable boats plying between Formosa, Japan and China, all of course managed by the Japs. The vessels running between Kelung and Nagasaki especially are excellent. Some of them are ocean-going steamers of over 6000 tons. Those touching the Chinese ports are much smaller and slower.

The seaports in Formosa, however, are but second rate. Of the four, Kelung, Tamsui, Takau and Anping, the first is by far the best. It will accommodate several large ocean liners, but like all the rest of the ports it affords but little shelter in time of storm. But within recent years steps had been taken to improve the harbor. A waterbreak to cost millions of dollars is in course of construction. This when completed will make Kelung harbor commodious as well as a place of safe anchorage.

The last three, Tamsui, Takau, and Anping though doing considerable amount of shipping are remarkably shallow and full of sand bars. Only coasting steamers of about 1800 tons can at high tide enter these ports. Lately, dredging has begun at Tamsui and Takau, and it is to be hoped that when the process is finished larger vessels may be admitted into these two harbors.

The first successive Chinese railroad ever attempted was in Formosa. This line which runs from Kelung to Shin-chiku, a distance of 62 miles was completed and opened for traffic early in the eighties. Under the Japanese this line has been extended to reach the southern end of the island—a total distance of some 300 miles. This railroad is a great boon to the island. A traveler can now journey from one end of the country to the other in about fifteen hours a trip which in former days would have occupied a week.

But one word remains to be said with regard to the land through which the rails pass. These lands were largely the properties of Chinese peasants, owners of small but valuable farms of from three to six acres. When a railroad passed through one of these tiny farms often there was little left of them. The loss thus sustained by these unfortunate farmers is therefore considerable and for such losses they receive practically no compensation save a free ticket each from the railroad company for a ride when the line was completed. Such tickets are each worth from fifteen cents to a dollar.

Of the roads, great improvements have been made by the Japanese. A dozen years ago practically speaking, there were no public highways in Formosa, now there are over 6000 miles of good serviceable roads. To be sure many of them are narrow and are only fitted for foot passengers, but in a land where horses and carriages are not in use, these highways meet practically all the demands for traffic and travel.

SANITATION AND CITY IMPROVEMENTS

Within these last few years the principal cities in Formosa have undergone a remarkable transformation. The crooked, dirty, narrow and uneven streets of the past generation have been done away with. In their places there now exist broad, clean, and well paved streets. Those in Taihoku, the capital, or Kelung are equal to any of the best avenues to be found anywhere in Yokohama or Tokyo. The much needed sewage system has in all the larger cities been introduced, water works have also been opened up for the cities. In some cases as in Tamsui the water is brought at a considerable distance from the springs in the mountains.

Another feature for the preservation of health in the cities and towns is the compulsory house cleaning law. At certain times of the year people are required to make a general cleaning up of their houses. All the sweeping and washing is done under the eyes of the police. Should a plague or other contagious disease break out, then the greatest of care is taken to prevent the further spread of the infection. In such cases white washing and disinfection must be done in all the homes. Rats which are supposed to be the cause of the bubonic plague, too, must be destroyed. To accomplish this end traps are provided for all the homes by the government. Bounty is attached to every rat killed. But those who fail to catch any are to pay a fine of a few cents at the end of each month. With such enforcements of health laws it is no wonder that the death rate in the cities of Formosa have been radically reduced. Hospitals, one of the greatest needs of this land, have also been established. The Taihoku Hospital alone costing nearly Y. 500,-000 is a commodious building, well built and quite luxurious. The first class wards are furnished entirely in the European style. The Hospital employs a contingent of nurses and specialists, many, graduates of the best German and American medical schools. Besides this there are ten other private hospitals in the capital.

Prisons, too, costing several hundred thousand dollars have been erected in several of the cities. This is a great

improvement over the old Chinese prisons where criminals were thrust into miserable dungeons and tortured. The prisons during the last few years show a preponderant percentage of Japanese prisoners over that of the Chinese. This can partly be explained by the fact that a large number of the Japanese who immigrated to Formosa belong to the lower and worse classes in society.

Of the public buildings which adorn the cities there are innumerable ones. Schools, post office, banks and hotels, many constructed in Western style are to be found everywhere. While in Taihoku, the government buildings and colleges are among the best in the Far East.

THE ABORIGINES

More than one-half of Formosa is today in the possession of the aborigines. They number in all about 115,000. Of Malay stock these savages are as fierce and warlike as any of their kinsman in the South Seas. Every year hundreds of Chinese and Japanese are killed by them. Those who suffer the most are the camphor workers whose dangerous calling brings them right into the savage territories where the camphor trees alone are to be found.

Within recent years vigorous attempts have been made by the Japanese to subdue them but thus far with little or no success. Fighting under cover and in their native haunts an armed force has a little chance against these expert warriors of the forest. Recognizing this fact the Japanese have set up a line of barb-wire fences with block houses at intervals of about a mile along the entire savage border. The whole is patrolled day and night by a force of over 5000 military police. By this method of steadily tightening the cordon it is hoped that in time the head hunters will be forced to surrender. So far, however, the savages show no sign of weakening. The raids made by them are as frequent as ever. Annually they still carry off hundreds of heads of their enemies, Chinese as well as Japanese. The loss inflicted upon the Japanese forces particularly have been heavy. From 1900 to 1903 alone 1,900

of them were killed. Besides the heavy loss of life it costs the government treasury about Y. 2,000,000 a year to maintain the large force of military police in the savage territories. From the present outlook years must necessarily pass before the Japanese will be able to bring them into subjection.

EDUCATION

The establishment of an educational system in Formosa was undertaken by the Japanese soon after the island came into their possession in 1895. The government did not deem it wise, then, to make the education compulsory for the poverty of the people would make that quite impossible. The aim of the government was thus transferred to establishing schools in such communities as are able and willing to pay for them. Education in Formosa is therefore for the privileged classes rather than for the poor or the masses.

But to such a people as the Chinese who value education above all things else the Japanese experienced no difficulties whatever in the matter of support and of obtaining pupils for their numerous schools. Chinese parents, in fact are anxious or even eager that their children should receive a first class Japanese education. To this end thousands have already entered the higher institutions of learning both in Formosa and in Japan.

Statistics show that in 1905 there were 588,786 Chinese children of school age in the island of whom 51,739 were under instruction. Of the Japanese 3,828 were of school age of whom 3,566 were enrolled in the schools. Tuition fees paid by these scholars are merely nominal. The amount required is about \$1 a year per pupil.

In Formosa where 400 people live to a square mile the country schools are by necessity built to accommodate each at least 200 pupils. They are generally well constructed, ventilated and spacious. All of them have ample space for gardens and playgrounds. Some even are equipped with tennis courts. The city schools of course are much larger and better equipped. Many in addition are provided with athletic fields and other outdoor facilities for recreation.

The subjects taught in these schools are, arithmetic, Chinese, Japanese, morals, music, physical culture, agriculture, manual training, and commerce. The study of the Japanese language is given a most prominent place. It is the policy of the government to make Japanese the language of the people.

Of the secondary schools for the Chinese there are three in number. The Medical School, the Language School, and the Agricultural School.

The Medical School has the object of training Chinese young men in the knowledge of modern medical science. Its graduates to supersede gradually the many old type Chinese doctors and quacks who constantly prey upon the credulity of the people. The school which has enrolled about 200 students furnishes a preparatory and a regular course of four years. A post graduate course of one year is also added and all who are able are advised to take it. The school is in close connection with Taihoku Hospital. It has a splendid laboratory and is in all other respects well equipped. The school is doing a splendid work. It has furnished the island with many competent physicians whose services are ever in demand.

The Language School which is a government institution has two departments, the normal and the academic. The institution aims at fitting young men for the position of public school teachers. The courses of study comprise four years and includes the following subjects, morals, history, pedagogy, geography, Chinese, Japanese, mathematics, natural science, manual training, music, commerce and physical culture.

The Agricultural School admits into its classes only a limited number of students, about ninety yearly. The candidates are carefully chosen. They must at least hold a certificate from an elementary school, be sons of land owners, and physically sound. The course of study is two years, and embraces the following subjects, entomology, pathology, science of agriculture, manual training, cattle breeding, and pedagogy. The school has a staff of about twenty teachers. It also maintains a sixty acre farm where

cattle breeding and experimentation upon tropical plants, notably rice, sugar cane, indigo and tobacco are carried on.

Besides these secondary schools for the Chinese excellent facilities for the training of the Japanese youths in the higher branches of learning are also to be had. The Girls High School which was founded but a few years ago is a splendid institution. It has a strong staff and is in every way well equipped and while yet small it promises to be one of the best schools in the island. The Middle School which offers excellent courses for the study of languages and diplomacy was patterned after a famous English School, Abbott Hall. It was erected at a great cost and is without doubt one of the finest institutions of its kind in Far East.

THE FUTURE OF FORMOSA

Fifteen years have already passed since Formosa first came under the domain of the Mikado. During that period the island has witnessed many radical and striking changes. The changes are most pronounced in the new civil and military administrations, in the system of policing, in the development of the natural resources, in the facility of transportation, and in the excellent new system of education. All these useful reforms have been placed on sound bases. The prosperity of the island is increasing day by day. It will not be many years before Formosa will be one of the controlling factors in the ever increasing trade of the Pacific. While the Japanese have been successful in promoting the material prosperity of their new colony, there yet remain problems which have yet to be solved, namely ,the problems of assimilation and Japanization.

1. What will be the ultimate result of the co-mingling of the two races, the Chinese and the Japanese. Will it result in assimilation?

2. Will the Japanese ever be able to Japanize their subjects?

1. There are at present less than 70,000 Japanese residents in the island. Nearly all of them, like the foreigners in America, congregate in the larger cities in "groups" or

"towns" of their own. They associate but little with the Chinese. Intermarriage between the two races is rare. A distinct element, therefore, the Japanese population will always be. This will by necessity constitute a race problem, were the Japanese influx greatly increased. But at present there is no indication of such a tendency. Thus unless there is a sudden tide of Japanese immigration its present small population need not, therefore, be a serious factor in the future race problem of the colony.

2. As already mentioned only 70,000 Japanese reside in Formosa, while the Chinese population totals some 3,000,000. Will the small handful of Japanese be capable, therefore, to make their influence and impress sufficiently felt so as to bring about their much desired and long hoped for Japanization of the natives. To hope for such a result is indeed a task mighty to accomplish

The Formosa of today with the exception of a few cities and ports is just as much Chinese as it ever was. The inhabitants still live in the old time way." The old traditions, customs, and institutions remain practically unaltered. The old prejudice against the Japanese, too, has not yet died out. The harsh treatment accorded to them by the Japanese has not yet been forgotten. These coupled with the strong Chinese racial traits, together with their sympathetic attitude towards their fellow kinsmen across the channel, constitute factors which make for solution the Japanization of Formosa one that is at once unfavorable and difficult. To succeed, the Japanese have yet much to accomplish. At present, however, it is too soon to predict the ultimate outcome of their ambitious aim. This is a question which the future alone can determine.

BULGARIA: THE DYNAMIC IN THE BALKAN SITUATION

By Mason W. Tyler, Ph.D.

That in Bulgaria we have today the main factor in the solution of the Balkan situation is hardly to be doubted by anyone conversant with the state of affairs there. As Prussia in the past so has Bulgaria linked her future to the possession of a strong army, backed by a prosaic, hard-working but earnest nation. Servia met her Sadowa a quarter-century ago at Slivnitza, and should Turkey interfere there is every probability that she will meet the fate that came to France at Sedan. Moreover, it is with no static force we are dealing, but a progressive nation whose throbs of energetic life are felt by all who come within her borders: the true dynamic in the Balkan situation.

First we must give some attention to the Bulgaria of the past for it has in many ways influenced the Bulgaria of the present and will undoubtedly influence the Bulgaria of the future. Into the vacant spaces left by the migrating Goths at the period of the downfall of the Empire in the West came new, strange tribes, of a race allied to the Slavs, yet of uncertain origin, and among these are the modern Bulgars. Arriving in the latter part of the ninth century they built up, almost at once, an empire nearly conterminous with the Balkan peninsula, extending from Salonika on the south to the Danube on the north. More than once their armies appeared before the trembling imperial city on the Bosphorus, but always the superior skill of the Greek prevailed over the savage courage of the Bulgar and prevented the capture of the city. Indeed under a capable line of Emperors the empire managed to take the offensive and even reconquer Bulgaria itself, but only for a brief season, and then a new Bulgarian Empire, even more glorious than the

old, arose and became the most powerful state in the Balkans. From Tirnova the imperial city in the gorges of the Jantra went forth edicts that were obeyed throughout the peninsula. To show his hatred for Constantinople and to win from the West the confirmation of his title one emperor carried his whole people over to the Roman church and this edict was obeyed without question. But as the central power grew weaker under less capable rulers, internal anarchy set in and the Bulgarian state was nearly destroyed when the attacks of the Turks gave it the finishing touch, and it fell in utter ruin.

But it was not without its influence for it served to the Bulgarian patriot the same service as did the old German Empire to the lover of German unity. And as in Germany in the early part of the last century we had an idealization of the old empire, so today we have in Bulgaria a like idealization of the power their forefathers wielded. It was for this reason that Ferdinand was proclaimed on a bleak hill-top in one of the out-of-the-way cities of his dominion, for the city was Tirnova and the hill-top was the site of the old palace of the Bulgarian Tsars.

From 1393 to the middle of the last century we may reckon the dark ages of Bulgarian history. The country was so crushed down by Turkish governors that all remembrance of national life was lost and most of the inhabitants imagined themselves Greeks. A number of the people, probably considering it the sole way not only to advancement but even to safety, went over to the Mahomedan religion, forming the body of Pomarchs, despised alike by true Mahomedan and faithful Bulgarian. Under the unenlightened rule art and industry vanished and the country retrograded into a state of half-civilization from which it has not yet wholly recovered.

But with the turn in the century came a change of conditions. The extension of railways, the increase of travel that brought the people more into touch with European civilization, together with the efforts of Russia to stir up Slavonic national life under her leadership resulted, in the years between 1850 and 1875, in a series of revolts in the Bal-

kan states. In this movement Bulgaria had its part. National committees were formed in Roumania which aided by the Greek priests, resisted all attempts to put it down. Turkey's answer to this was to quarter in 1859 half a million wild Tartars on the population. From that time on, there was a complete reign of terror in Bulgaria. One can now see its traces; the old Roman Road along which they drove their Christian captives to the Constantinople slave-market, the villages sunk deep in the narrow valleys to escape observation. But burning and harrying failed, villages burnt down were rebuilt again and a steady resistance maintained. This state of affairs culminated in the famous Bulgarian horrors of 1876. Then came the war of 1878 in which the Bulgarians performed prodigies of valor, and with it the recognition of Bulgarian independence and the cession to her of the present kingdom plus the greater part of Macedonia.

It is unnecessary to trace the measures which led up to the treaty of Berlin. Suffice it to say that this independent kingdom was divided into three parts, Bulgaria proper, that was erected into a principality, Eastern Roumania which was given autonomy under a Christian governor, and Macedonia, which was unreservedly given back to the Turks. For the national feelings of these Balkan peoples the Berlin negotiators cared not a whit and Bulgaria, although it had formed its government and had called Prince Alexander of Battenberg to the throne, was forced to acquiesce in the diminishing of its territory and the loss of its sovereign power.

The next five years were filled with intrigue and counter intrigue. Russia had assisted in the freedom of the Slavonic states in the hope that she might eventually make them part of her empire. She hoped that internal dissensions would cripple the new Balkan states and make Russian interference a necessity, for the sake of preserving order. For her design Alexander was by far too strong a man and she did not look on the new strength of Bulgaria with any favor. Alexander did his best to retain Russian friendship and at the same time please his people but the two were contra-

dictory and events soon came that brought on a crisis, destined to ruin Russian influence in Bulgaria and the Bulgarian prince together.

In 1885 the situation in the Balkan peninsula was much like that of Germany in 1866. Servia had been independent for about three-quarters of a century, and it had been her constant dream to unite around her the Balkan states in a confederation. To her the rise of Bulgaria was dangerous to a high degree and it became one of her cardinal ideas to check it at the first possible opportunity. In 1885 she thought her chance had come when Alexander, taking advantage of a revolution in Eastern Roumelia, definitely annexed it to Bulgaria. Under the specious pretext of upholding the Berlin Treaty, Servia invaded Bulgaria suddenly at a time when her troops were mainly occupied in the south. But here the Bulgarian army for the first time showed its mettle. While with a small force the Bulgarians held the position at Slivnitz against Servian attack the Roumelian militia after forced marches of unheard-of length arrived in time to complete the rout. The road to Belgrade lay open and only Austrian intervention saved Servia from territorial loss.

This war is, as I have said, the Balkan war of '66. It settled forever the dream of Servian hegemony, yet brought very near the dominance of Bulgaria. But Russia, to whom the idea of a prosperous and growing Bulgaria was gall and wormwood was enraged and it struck hard at the man whom it held responsible for all this prosperity. Then began a series of disgraceful plots, aided, to their infamy, by several Bulgarian officers who hoped to profit by the internal anarchy in the country. Alexander was kidnapped, then, in the face of the furious outcry of the Bulgarian people, allowed to return, but he had seen the power of Russia and in a moment of weakness he abdicated leaving in Bulgaria a memory that is revered as that of his successor, despite his abilities, will never be.

From this abdication dates the new Bulgaria. The storm and stress were over, the Bulgarians were allowed to retain Eastern Roumelia and the country enjoyed a period of

peaceful development that is still continuing. To lead this movement the new Bulgarian prince was eminently fitted.

Cautious, slow-going but steady, unscrupulous in his use of means, despising nothing provided it will bring him a bit nearer his desired end, Ferdinand has earned a high place among nation-builders. Whatever you may think of his moral qualities, no one can doubt his capability, his general fitness for the circumstances. For consider his position twenty-five years ago and compare it with that today: Russia conspicuously unfriendly, wanting to stir up internal dissensions so she could fish in troubled waters, the rest of Europe lukewarm, no one recognizing him, his own subjects looking on him with unfriendly eyes. Against all this he has had to struggle, and in addition he has further alienated his subjects by his adherence to the Roman Catholic Church, by his love of pomp and by his cold manners. And yet if his subjects do not love him, they at least admire him, and that is probably all Ferdinand wants. Again, he has one great advantage, too often overlooked in America, but very well known in Sofia and that is that he is a foreigner. It is that very fact, at first sight a disadvantage that prevents the king from becoming a mere party head, as has been the case in Servia. His aloofness from all parties renders him superior to all and enables him to work for the good of his country. And that is of especial importance in the Balkan states where politics is a very serious business, for every party is in alliance with some outside power who is trying to use it to further its own ends in the country; for instance, the conservative party is pro-Russian. The very aloofness, then, goes to make the king the more free from outside powers and thus the more Bulgarian.

Now to turn from the king to the country itself, Bulgaria is a wedge of some 38,000 square miles driven in from the Black Sea into the Balkan Peninsula and has a population of about 4,000,000 souls. The country is, on the whole, mountainous and resembles to a considerable degree parts of the southern portion of Wyoming. But the strategic importance of the country is out of all proportion either to its size or to its population for it commands absolutely the

Balkan passes leading from the Danube to Constantinople. So natural conditions would force it, even were it not for the disposition of its chiefs to keep up a large standing army. Even though mountainous there is considerable fertile land in the river valleys and Bulgaria ranks second in European countries in the production of wheat.

The government is, at least nominally, exceedingly liberal. Every Bulgarian subject is a free elector and all who can read and write are eligible for office. But as a matter of fact the Sobranje only meets for about six weeks in the year, and the real government is in the hands of the ministry, who have of late been pretty closely dependent on the crown. Intimidation is freely used, and unpleasant candidates are advised to resign, or else "take a trip to Paris." In case this does not secure the desired effect, and particularly if the Macedonian Committee is involved, assassination is very likely to be tried, but these cases are comparatively rare.

The leading cities are Sofia, Philipopols and Ruschuk. The former, with about 100,000 people, is a clean, well-built city with public buildings that are only exceeded in the Balkan states by those of Bucharest, and indeed the new Cathedral is finer than any church in the Roumanian city. The streets are well paved, the shops, in the better portion of the city at least, have all the appearance of those of Western Europe. But in wandering around the city the traveler feels that a very thin veneer of German manufacture has been laid over the old Tartar life and it would only need a very slight scratch to bring back the old nomadic life with its tents, its flocks and herds and its lack of settled habitation. Nor is this impression dissipated by seeing the country folk as they come in to the weekly market. Clad in their home-spun woolens, dyed in bright colors, the men with their sheep-skins over their shoulders they are not people that one would meet in any western city. And there they sit along the sidewalks, unregenerate, as if in protest against the government that would graft this foreign German civilization upon their sturdy Bulgarian life.

Should the traveler approach Bulgaria from the Danube, the gradual entrance into the Orient is much more percep-

tible than is the swifter entry by railway. If in no other way than by the substitution of Turkish coffee instead of the Viennese brand at dinner, one feels after leaving Orsova that he has entered a new world. New strange forms appear on the docks, the minarets appear in the towns along the banks; the Orient looms before him. But Ruschuk is to the Western traveler at the first view disappointing, the new town where the steamboats land being populated mainly by Germans and other foreigners who have come there on business, and smacking distinctly of a Western "boom-city." But when one pushes back into the old town another world opens. Not that the town in itself has anything so peculiarly Oriental—the likeness to the new Western city still holds. There are the same two-story business blocks, generally of wood, the same wide, muddy street, the same half-done appearance with a handsome building and right next to it a vacant lot full of old cans, scrap-iron and garbage. Two things there are, however, that call you back, one the mosques, the other the appearance here and there of the old Turkish khans, low, windowless, whitewashed, sprawling over the earth with their courtyards and ramifying ells; sole survivors of a régime that has passed away forever. But it is not so much these even that make Ruschuk Oriental: it is above all the people. In one half-hour's walk on the streets you can see all the peoples of the Orient, Bulgarian civilized in West European dress, Bulgarian uncivilized in home-spun and sheepskin, Turks sitting chatting outside the coffee-houses, Gypsies, unkempt but picturesque, Jews with here and there a foreigner from Western Europe to make up the kaleidoscope. For Ruschuk far more than Sofia has kept the cosmopolitan element, the Turk having left the latter city forever after the fatal days of 1878 when he saw his house and furniture used for fuel to keep warm the Russian giaour. But in Ruschuk he is everywhere, making up a considerable portion of the life of the city. Finally along the wharves that line the Danube and in the streets of the new town you get the Bulgarian of Sofia, the most repellent type of all, the half-civilized nomad who has clothed him-

self in a pair of ragged trousers and a dirty shirt and says, "Lo! I am a European." Yet he adds the required touch to make the picture complete and give the traveler, in this small space of Ruschuk, a cross section of Bulgaria.

But the city represents only a small part of Bulgarian life. Nearly three-quarters of the Bulgarian population is still engaged in agricultural pursuits, though of course, as civilization advances and the country becomes more industrialized an influx to the cities will take place. The land is nominally in the hands of the crown but the perpetual tenure which the peasants hold gives them virtual possession. In return for this tenure and to cover all taxes one-tenth of the produce is paid to the government: a state of affairs that will compare favorably with any country in Europe. Nor does prosperity, of a good substantial style fail them. The peasants' houses are neat and clean, and fully as pretentious as those of the German peasants. The Turkish régime has left its imprint on the architecture with its low square type, one story in height, while in its whitewashed walls and thatched roof it is much like the peasants' houses of Western Europe. In some cases, where the supply of wood is plentiful we find wooden houses gaily painted but the forests thirty years ago existed only in name, and even now, despite careful and well-trained husbandry are of no great extent. In general the villages are much like those of early New England: the houses huddled together, the fields often two, three and four miles from the home of the farmer. Out of these villages in the early morning light pour the entire population to return at night, leaving perhaps the younger children to prepare and bring out the scanty noon meal. The whole family as soon as they arrive at a working age turn in at the field work, but, as far as I could see, did not make a chore of their work but laughed and chattered as they performed their tasks. Often several families joined together to perform the field work by rotation. The methods of agriculture were, in the districts I visited, a trifle crude, but slowly improved farming machinery is being introduced, although the system of small tenures is an impediment to this.

Perhaps the greatest progress made in the last thirty

years has been in the improvement of communications. In 1879 there were only 140 miles of railway in all Bulgaria, consisting of the line from Ruschuk on the Danube to Varna on the Black Sea. At the present moment there are nearly 900 miles in full operation and the standard of comfort in traveling in Bulgaria is fully as high as anywhere in Europe. The locomotives are of German build and the lines, though owned by the state and entirely run by Bulgarians, show a distinct German method, probably acquired from the old Oriental Railway, a German line. The roads are on the whole as good as the average in America and their extent has been nearly trebled in the last thirty years, while equally great strides have been made in opening up telephone and telegraph connections and in extending the postal system.

Education has also made rapid strides. The 1880 illiteracy was the general rule all over the country. All higher training was found outside of Bulgaria where the student forgot his country and, even if he did not, often returned out of sympathy with and usefulness for her. Now over 90 per cent of the city population can read and write and the standard is nearly as high in the country districts. Moreover there is a university at Sofia which, considering the circumstances does remarkably good work and in which the attendance is nearly 1000. As a result, a new art and literature are springing up founded on the old Bulgar lines which in due time may be expected to bring forth important results.

One cannot close this picture of present day Bulgaria without speaking of what is probably its most omnipresent future—its army, for wherever you go be it city or village you are very apt to see marching along the highway a little squad of these soldiers in their dust-brown uniforms, chanting their monotonous marching-song. The strength of this army is very little understood in Western Europe but no one who has seen them will doubt their ability to defeat Turk or Servian if necessity arises. Formed originally on Russian lines by Alexander, officered by Russians, it got its baptism of fire at Slivnitza; be it remembered, too, after all its superior officers had left it. Since the defeat of Russia by Japan the army has swung more to German lines,

although it has copied advantageous points everywhere. Should you ask what made Bulgaria the determinant factor of the Balkans, I should certainly give this army as one reason and for the other I would give the Bulgarian people themselves.

If I should take a second sub-title for this article I would take Bulgaria. . . . the Germany of the Balkans. For there is much in the Bulgarian people to recall the Teuton, just as the Servian in many ways recalls the Frenchman. Frugal, industrious, temperate, with few brilliant qualities the Bulgar attains his desired end by sheer persistency. And with that go many qualities that make him a pleasant companion: he is hospitable to the last degree: lacks the assertive nationalism degenerating into distinct narrowness that so distinguishes the Servian, but is open to new light on any subject and from any source. The women, while generally ignorant, are splendid wives and mothers and are bringing up the new Bulgarian generation in all the virtues of the past.

Should you ask for the reverse of the picture I might name two evils which seemed to me present in Bulgaria. The first comes as the natural corollary of what I have said up to this time. Thirty years ago Bulgaria lacked national civilization or political life: today she has both. But such mushroom growth is almost always dangerous; it merely spreads a thin veneer of civilization over the nation, leaving the heart still untouched. Thus Sofia, with its fine public buildings and with its rows of hastily built, two-story houses, and at the same time its vacant lots full of rubbish and refuse and its dirty streets is emblematic of the successes and the failures of the new Bulgaria.

The other evil falls in much the same class. Just as the country has been rushed too fast culturally so it has been politically. In no capital of Europe are political lines so tightly drawn as in Sofia, nowhere are political leaders so full of the feeling that they and they only can save the country. With this feeling in mind they are willing to stoop to anything: assassination of an opposing statesman, political alliance with an outside power. But both these two courses are on the wane. As the country grows in civilization the first will utterly disappear, even now it is mainly limited to

the leaders of the Macedonian Committee, with whom the central government has little or no connection. The same may be said for outside alliance. Today that is the greatest danger that besets Bulgaria: that these foreign alliances with Bulgarian political parties may be made a pretext for interference in her affairs. But gradually there are growing up a coterie of leaders who have been trained in schools like Robert College, men to whom Bulgaria is all, who feel no need of outside help, who will rely on the sense of the Bulgarian nation and stand or fall with it. And that nation itself has not forgotten the lesson of self-reliance learned at Slivnitza and may be depended upon to give such a nationalist policy strong support. The future, then, is full of hope.

There is much significance in the assumption by Ferdinand of the title "Emperor of all the Bulgars," for half that nation still dwell in Macedonia under the rule of Turkey. Moreover the dream of a Bulgaria, erected on its old limits from Salonika on the south to the Danube on the north, a dream realized at San Stefano and destroyed at Berlin, has not been forgotten and may be trusted to still appear before the Bulgarian statesmen of the future. And no student or even observer of Balkan affairs today doubts but that in a war between Bulgaria and Turkey the former will triumph. In military and financial resources, in steadiness of purpose and sense of unity she is distinctly superior to the Constantinople régime and, unless the New Turkish party accomplish the almost impossible and weld the diverse parts of the Turkish Empire into one homogeneous whole, she will continue to be so. But war with Turkey, for the present at least, is hardly probable. The eyes of Bulgarian statesmen are still turned toward internal development, and having attained the complete independence of the country they may be trusted to wait before taking further steps. For over twenty years Bulgaria waited between the annexation of Eastern Roumania and the declaration of complete independence from Turkey and this may be taken as a pledge that the progress of Bulgaria from step to step will be gradual and full security taken lest, pushing forward too hastily, they fall headlong to destruction.

CONDITIONS IN INDIA DURING THE PAST YEAR

By John P. Jones, D.D., Madura, India

During the last year India has made very substantial progress in several ways.

The unrest of the past three years has lost much of its bitterness and has become considerably reduced if not entirely removed. This is owing largely to the new reform movements introduced, nearly a year and a half ago, by the government into the legislative bodies. The increase of the Indian members in the provincial legislatures so as to create a majority of non-official members in those bodies, the substantial addition of Indian members to the vice-regal council, with other large advantages bestowed on the natives of this land—all these have given to the people a new sense of their importance and power beyond anything formerly experienced by them.

And it may be truly said that the Indian members of these bodies are not slow to avail themselves of their new opportunities and added increment of power. In the vice-regal council itself the Indian members have been bold to introduce new acts which are fundamental in their importance for the well-being of their country. For instance, the educational act, introduced by Mr. Gokhale is one of the most important laws ever introduced into the councils of this government. It provides for the gradual introduction of a free and compulsory primary education for India. And it is an interesting fact that the government looks with favor upon it, and that the official members of the council will probably vote for it. It should be said that Mr. Gokhale is one of the most able, as he is certainly the most eloquent, member of the viceroy's council. He presented his new act with consummate skill and ably marshalled a host of telling facts and figures in its favor. But what can be more

effective in revealing the need of such an act than the simple statement that 89 per cent of the 315,000,000 people of India are analphabet; and of the remaining 11 per cent not more than one-tenth are possessed of anything more than a primary education. Not more than six women in a thousand are in any sense literate!

Another distinguished member of the viceroy's council is the Honorable Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, who introduced, recently, a bill to amend the special marriage act of 1872. The object of the bill is to make certain the validity of marriages contracted between members of two different castes. It seems strange that India has no law which is applicable to the whole country and which will make valid a marriage contract between, for instance, any two members of different castes of the Hindu community. Hitherto the marriage laws for Hindus have been the caste customs legalised; and castes take cognizance only of marriages contracted by their own members. This new act, now before the legislature, has stirred the Hindu community to its depths. Conservatives recognise it as the most serious blow ever aimed at the caste system; and they oppose it, for that reason, with extreme vigor. On the other hand, men of progress and of advanced thought and interest, stand by Mr. Basu and are determined to bring this fundamental reform into the laws of the land. It therefore represents a serious conflict in the land; and I trust that the government will see to it that this act becomes a part of our code, and that this important social reform movement be carried through at all hazards. The value of this movement lies in the fact that it has been initiated and is conducted by the Hindus themselves whose new social consciousness is leading them to new opportunities and blessings in life. They are feeling, as never before, the utter inadequacy of the caste system to meet modern conditions and demands of life.

I am compelled to say that the social reform movement, as an organization has, during the last decade, suffered considerable eclipse through the intense political propaganda and unrest. Nearly all the men of culture have been willing to ignore the supreme need of social amelioration and advancement if only they could somehow reach even a

modified political independence. They sadly forget that no political independence is possible to a people whose social inequalities and disabilities are so many and so flagrant as they are in India at the present time.

Yet there is no need for discouragement. And it may be interesting to add here some of the notable changes which have recently taken place within Hinduism itself as recorded by the stanch Hindu social reformer and able editor of *The Indian Social Reformer*.

"The right way," he says, "of grasping social progress among Hindus is not so much to count the changes under different heads, as to see what the relative amount of opposition now offered is as compared with what it was, say, some fifteen or twenty years ago.

The opposition had been steadily growing less, and ceased altogether rather suddenly about six years back. Certain journals and publicists, well known for their hostility, completely turned round. This is a development we owe to the growth of the sentiment of nationality.

This, however, is a negative factor, though those who are in the thick of the struggle know that it is none the less important. It means that organized opposition to social reform has ceased, and that henceforth we have to contend chiefly against individual inertia.

On the positive side may be mentioned some changes which are the outcome of Western influences, among which the chief are education (directly) and Christianity (indirectly): (1) Higher standards of personal purity and dignity among men. (2) Integrity in public positions, and public spirit. (3) Higher valuation of female and child life.

Concubinage, which was esteemed as rather a manly fashion some twenty years ago, has largely disappeared among the more enlightened class; and even among the less enlightened it is regarded as a thing rather to be ashamed than to be proud of. It is no longer flaunted openly. The anti-nautch movement has secured a firm foothold among a large section of the community, and is spreading every day.

Educated officials, it has been repeatedly acknowledged, are as a class noted for freedom from corruption.

Although there has always been plenty of affection in Indian homes, the recognition that women and children have personalities to be respected and are not mere extensions of the personality of the head of the family, is a modern feature.

Women are growing to feel that they have rights, and they no longer acquiesce in things to which they submitted quietly some years ago, such as, (a small instance) eating out of the husband's plate after he had finished. The practice of women dining after the men is rapidly on the wane in educated circles.

To revivalist movements, such as Swami Vivekanandan's, and to

the Theosophical Society's activities we owe the strong reaction against the drinking habits common among the first generation of English-educated Indians. The younger generation is almost entirely total abstaining, and habitual drinkers are to be found only among men who have passed middle age.

The growth of public spirit, easily distinguishable from the caste spirit, is perhaps the most valuable feature of modern India.

Social reform of an organized character and affecting institutions, is due chiefly to the work of the Brahmo Samaj and of the Parthana Samaj, to the National Social Conference, and to Social Reform Associations connected therewith. The results here are not very impressive from a statistical point of view; but as mentioned at the outset, the thing to be regarded is the amount and vigor of opposition, which is distinctly less now than formerly.

Among definite reforms we may allude to:

1. The disappearance of polygamy.
2. Remarriages of young widows, and more particularly the increasing extent to which families high up in the social scale are adopting the reform, especially among Maharashtra Brahmans.
3. Growing number of widows' homes, and improvements in the treatment of widows. In towns it is common nowadays to see widows in good families wearing their hair and even a few jewels. They are not shunned to the same extent as formerly.
4. Slow rise in the age of marriage, due as much to economic causes as to social reform propaganda.
5. Less prejudice to female education, and an increasing desire to send girls to schools and to pay fees for their education.
6. Recognition of the importance of the depressed classes, and an earnest desire to raise them in the social scale.
7. Larger number of people traveling to foreign countries, and diminished difficulties to admission.
8. The favorable reception given by a very large section of the Hindu press and public to a bill like Mr. Basu's, evincing an increased repugnance to caste barriers.

There is, of course, still a large mass of immovable conservatism; but these are noteworthy signs to the eye of insight.

If we could conceive social life as a forest of trees, we would see the old institutions decaying and withered, while the new reforms appear as young shoots oozing life at every pore.

The change of viceroys, some six months ago, has been a help in the furtherance of political rest. The last viceroy, Lord Minto, was definitely a man of peace and was anxious, so far as possible, to satisfy all the people. But the anarchic methods of the disloyal few necessitated the vigorous repressive methods with which his name was connected. The present viceroy, Lord Hardinge, is a man of more force of character and is also pacific and constructive in his official life. He is showing marked sympathy with the people, and yet

reveals a firmness in adhering to the absolute necessity of British supremacy. He is the first viceroy to be willing to receive a deputation sent to him by the National Congress. And the reception was cordial; but he gave them to understand that, under present conditions, the congress was no longer a necessity. His contention is a very reasonable one, namely that, inasmuch as government has enlarged the opportunities of the people through increasing extensively their representation in the legislative bodies, those bodies not the congress will furnish to them at present the opportunity for agitating and discussing public affairs. Many Indian gentlemen feel the force of this contention; and it seems likely to be a serious blow to the prestige of the congress, even if it will not destroy it entirely.

One of the laws recently enacted was directed at the seditious press of the land. This is really a modification and a mollification of the temporary act recently framed with a view to meeting the disloyalty of press and platform. This act has none of the asperity of the temporary one. All feel that the recent violence of the vernacular press, its racial antagonism and political bitterness, must be held in check if the unrest is to cease and if the present government is to have an opportunity to render its best service to the people.

The king-emperor of India did very wisely in proclaiming his purpose to come, with the queen, to India in December next to hold a great Durbar in Delhi to which all the nobility and official dignitaries of the land are invited, and where the king will essentially repeat the coronation exercises and be installed by this people of the Orient as their own emperor and will receive from them their united loyal assent and homage. It will be a great pageant, splendid in its oriental coloring and long to be remembered for its magnificent display. It will probably far exceed in picturesqueness the coronation exercises in Great Britain. The occasion will be unique in that it will be the first time that a king and queen of Great Britain will have appeared in this land in that capacity. It will also be the first opportunity that the people of this land will have had to proclaim a western king as their own emperor.

NOTES AND REVIEWS

John Brown: A Biography Fifty Years After. By OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, Litt.D. Boston and New York: 1910. Houghton Mifflin Company. Pp. ix, 738.

In the struggle for the emancipation of the negro race in America, John Brown is the most dramatic figure. No other man in our history has received such extravagant praise and, at the same time, such bitter condemnation. Soon after his death, Emerson acclaimed him a hero; Thoreau compared him to Christ; and Victor Hugo called him an apostle and a martyr. Yet in the eyes of Jefferson Davis he was a murderous abolitionist; Stephen A. Douglas spoke of him as a notorious man "who has recently suffered death for his crimes upon the gallows." The Republican National Convention resolved that John Brown's work at Harpers Ferry was "among the gravest of crimes," yet a few months later thousands of Republican soldiers tramped South singing "his soul goes marching on."

Students and writers have also been at variance in their historical estimate of the man. He has been pronounced by some to have been of unbalanced mind; while others have tried to explain his character by comparing him to the militant Puritans of the seventeenth century. He is difficult to comprehend, for he combined qualities which seem to us impossible of combination. We can understand the inhuman cruelty of his Kansas struggle, when he murdered in cold blood innocent and helpless settlers; we can also understand the deep tenderness of heart when at Harpers Ferry he prayed that his only religious attendants might be "poor, little, dirty, ragged, bare-headed and bare-footed slave boys and girls, led by some old grayheaded slave mother;" and the sublime heroism which spoke out in the words, "I feel just as content to die for God's eternal truth on the scaffold as in any other way." The difficulty comes in trying to

conceive of these opposite qualities in the same man. But John Brown was inhuman, tender-hearted, and heroic—all in one.

He is a unique character in the American history of the past century. But in world history there have been many John Browns. Such a man is merely the natural product of every bitterly contested revolution. Among the extreme radicals of all such movements there have been both men and women who combined his seemingly antagonistic qualities. In the European revolution of the sixteenth century, the Reformation, such were the Anabaptists. They were heroic as they went from town to town preaching their faith in the face of almost certain death; they were notably kindhearted, as they greeted each whom they met with, "the peace of the Lord be with you," yet they were inhuman as they shut the city gates of Münster against fellow Christians and left outside mothers with children in their arms, to die of hunger and cold.

In the English revolution, in the days of Cromwell, and in that in France a century later, this same type is found. Robespierre, for example, was an extreme idealist, who worked for the realization of a perfect democratic community; yet for the sake of his ideal he instituted the reign of terror.

In the recent Russian revolution the John Brown character was not uncommon among the Terrorists. The assassin of General Minn is merely a type of hundreds of others. She was a young woman known to be gentle and tender-hearted, yet she committed a cold-blooded murder. During her trial she said to her judges, "You will sentence me to death. But wherever I may chance to die, in prison, on the gallows, in the mines of Siberia, I shall die with but one thought: Forgive me, my people, that I can give you so little—only my life." This young Russian with her cruelty, her tenderness, her heroism, might well be the re-incarnation of the soul of old John Brown. And men today judge her, as men judged him fifty years ago: some say, she is insane, she is a felon; and some, she is a hero, she is a saint.

John Brown is simply an American Terrorist.

In Rhodes' *History of the United States*, he says: "A century may, perchance, pass before an historical estimate acceptable to all lovers of liberty and justice can be made of John Brown." We venture the assertion that as long as mankind struggles against systems of oppression, entrenched behind state and church, so long will there never be a unanimity of judgment in regard to the character of idealists who use the methods of the extreme revolutionists—the John Browns and the Russian Terrorists.

Another life of John Brown, however, will never be needed. Dr. Villard has given all of the important facts in regard to the man which will probably ever be known, and has presented them fully and fairly, in a sympathetic spirit and with rare literary skill.

G. H. B.

SOME INFLUENCES OF RACE-CONTACT UPON THE ART OF PRIMITIVE PEOPLES

One very interesting section of the rather wide field of primitive art is concerned with race-contact, *i.e.*, with the influences, *e.g.*, upon the art of uncivilized peoples, and their children in particular, of contact with European and other civilized races. The literature upon this topic is rather scant, but some of the facts on record may be of considerable importance. By some authorities the effects of such contact have been much exaggerated. The late Professor O. T. Mason (*Amer. Anthropol.*, 1898, p. 356), once expressed the opinion that the well-known skill of the Eskimo in ivory carving and etching had arisen since contact with the whites, and was, as a matter of fact, due to the introduction of iron. It was in connection with the theory that the Eskimo, by reason of their art products, were probably kin to the caveman of prehistoric France, that Professor Mason asked the question, "Were the ancient Eskimo artists?" and answered it in the negative. To use his own words: "It does not need more than a superficial glance to convince the student that the artistic expression of the Eskimo, in the line of etching, is exactly parallel to the extent to which he has

come in contact with white men; first, with the sailor and the whaler, with their rude and often clever scrimshaw work, and finally, the Russian and American jewelers with their exquisite tools." The old objects, taken from graves, e.g., in the island of Attu, the westernmost of the Aleutian chain, show "not a dot, circle or any other conventional etching, or any attempt to carve the figure of a man or beast," while among the natives of this region, after contact with the Russians, "their later forms of ivory tools and weapons are exquisitely made and decorated." But Dr. Franz Boas, who is an expert in this field of primitive ethnology, is convinced that the resemblance of Eskimo art to the birch bark art of the Indians to the south indicates that the view of Professor Mason is quite untenable, although, doubtless some of the exuberance in the development of Eskimo art may be traceable to European influences or stimuli. Views not unlike those of Professor Mason have also been set forth concerning the art of cave-man in prehistoric France; and among the doubting Thomases was to be counted, at one time, the American anthropologist, Dr. W J McGee. Now all possibility of skepticism as to these art-products of Magdalenian man being genuine and representing the esthetic sense of human beings of a remote epoch has been removed, while their number is being increased with every new exploration of the caves of France and Spain. It is interesting to know that E. F. im Thurn (*Among the Indians of Guiana*, London, 1883, p. 391), looked upon the rock-pictures of the Carib region of northeastern South America as a "degenerate" form of an older art. In his opinion the art of rock-engraving and the art of making stone implements were intimately related and associated, and the former became, as it were, a "lost art," when, in consequence of the introduction of iron tools by the Europeans, the old stone implements, produced by toilsome rubbing, were driven out of use. Here, the introduction of iron is thought to have been a cause, not of the improvement, but of the degradation or the degeneration of primitive art.

According to Dr. H. H. Stannus (*J. Afric. Soc.*, vol. ix), the effect of contact with the whites upon the art of

certain aboriginal peoples of South Africa is very marked. Concerning the paintings on the walls of houses, met with in Nyasaland, he suggests that, since the natives themselves declare that nothing of the sort was done before the advent of the white man, "this painting on houses is the outcome of European influence" (p. 186). He also observes further (p. 187):

"It is found where greater intercourse with Europeans and chance of seeing their pictures occurs—thus near Blantyre, Zomba, Fort Johnston, and again in districts where large numbers leave the country to seek work in South Africa, etc.; in South Nyasa, among Yaos and Anyasa; in West Nyasa, among the Atonga, who are great travelers. Compare these latter with the Atumbuka and Northern Angoni (Mombera's Angoni), who, until some five years ago, had no administrative station among them, and did not travel afield, and among whom there are no wall paintings except near a mission station where the missionary and his donkey are the subject of three or four 'pictures.'

"These wall paintings have increased very considerably during the last five years. There are fewer in Central Angoniland than in Fort Johnston and district; the commonest subjects are men, boats, antelopes, houses, bicycles, horses."

The frescoes, in German East Africa, described by Dr. Weule, would seem likewise to be quite recent. Moreover, as Dr. Stannus points out (p. 187): "There is an exactly parallel case in the carving of images. All the Angoni, including those in Central and Southern Angoniland, make little sun-dried clay images of cattle and men, as do the Zulus; while until a few years ago other tribes neither modeled nor carved. Now the Yaos—the same people who, for the most part, make pictures, especially around Fort Johnston—make numerous carved wooden images, not under the influence of an image-making race (the nearest being on Tanganyika), but, as they admit, since the 'white man' came. A number of these I recently sent to the British Museum."

Schmidt (*Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien*, 1905, pp. 300–302, 325–326), calls attention to the differences between the drawings of the Indians on the Paranatinga who have

come into contact with the "whites of that region and those of other Indians who have not yet been influenced by them. These differences appear in the abandonment of the earlier geometric patterns such as appear on paddles and other implements and utensils for naturalistic representations—human figures, domestic animals (horse, cow, pig, etc., such, *e.g.*, as are not known among the people of the Xingú source-region). The drawings of Indians, who have come into more or less contact with the whites, show a greater naturalistic execution, often with distinction of full-face and profile; they represent not merely the characteristic and most prominent features, but seek to reproduce the actual condition of the object drawn. In the case of a man, *e.g.*, the musculature of the legs, the heel, etc., formerly altogether neglected, appear in the drawing.

A. F. CHAMBERLAIN.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR INTER-RACIAL GOOD WILL (EXTRACT)

By Edwin D. Mead

(Address at the Universal Races Congress, London, July 29, 1911)

In the United States we have of course had special societies to deal with our two great racial problems, those concerning the Negro and the Indians. Professor Du Bois, who visits Europe this summer, represents the National Association for the Welfare of Colored People, which is the most recently organized of various societies which have defined their purposes in similar terms, and some of which still exist. . . . The Constitution League of the United States, in which Mr. John E. Milholland, almost as much at home here in London as in New York, has been the most active force, is another American agency which has been earnestly devoted to fighting the political oppressions and discriminations to which the Negroes in the South are still subjected. Our Anti-Imperialist League, organized to oppose the policy of our government in the Philippines, and of which Mr. Moorfield Storey is also the president, has become in very high degree, by the exigencies of its problem, a kind of Aborigines Protection Society; as it has also been led to consider the problems of imperialism, which is always accompanied by injustice and tyranny toward weaker races, exercised by other governments than our own. There are various organizations among our Negroes themselves concerned with the sufferings and struggles of their race in America. We have had for many years an Indian Rights Association; and for twenty years there has been held at Lake Mohonk an annual Conference upon our duty to the Indians, attended by many of our best and ablest men, and resulting in immense improvement. This Conference has in recent years been so expanded in its scope as to take in

the problems arising from our relations to our so-called "dependencies"—the Philippines here playing of course the most important part. There is no place in the United States better fitted, by the great traditions created by Conferences on International Arbitration, to become a centre for conferences on inter-racial justice than Lake Mohonk. Its present autumn Conferences upon the rights of our Indians and the people of our dependencies might profitably be expanded into conferences of this broader scope, with no prejudice, but only gain, to the special purposes which called them into being.

It is possible, however, that the centre for this broader work in the United States will be elsewhere. There has been started at Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts, during the last two years, the most intelligent and well considered movement known to me in all the world bearing upon the particular problems of this Congress. The object of the Congress has been stated to be the discussion of the relation of the peoples of the West and those of the East, between so-called white and so-called colored peoples. I have been speaking chiefly of the relations of white and colored races, viewing the colored races as those coming within the purview of such students and reformers as those constituting the Aborigines Protection Society. To the discussion of such relations the Clark University Conferences will in considerable measure be devoted; but they will also be devoted to what may be called more specifically the relations between the peoples of the West and those of the East—and to those relations the two Conferences already held have been devoted. The president of Clark University, as is well known to most scholars present here, is Dr. G. Stanley Hall, whom I have already mentioned as the President of our Congo Reform Association; and I think that his experience in the work of that Association has had much to do with his interest in the founding of the Clark University Conferences, in whose organization his able and devoted associate has been Professor George H. Blakeslee of the University. The first of these Conferences was held in the autumn of 1909, and concerned itself with the relations of

America to the Far East, chiefly China and Japan. The second Conference was held in the autumn of 1910, and concerned itself with the Near East. Better thought out and better carried out programs than those of these two Conferences have seldom been seen; and they mark the beginning of a new era for us in the United States touching the scientific study of Eastern peoples and just dealings with them. Perhaps the best outcome of these Conferences, which are to be made regular, has been the establishment of a quarterly journal, *THE JOURNAL OF RACE DEVELOPMENT*, in which many of the papers read at the Conferences have been printed, which is by far the best publication in this field which we have ever seen in America, and certainly one of the best organs in the world of the great movement which has brought us together here. With the Mohonk Autumn Conferences developing as they are developing, and with the institution of these Clark University Conferences, I feel the outlook for thorough and worthy attention in the United States to inter-racial problems to be most promising; and the establishment with us of an efficient American society, corresponding in some sort to the British Aborigines Protection Society, is only a question of tomorrow or the next day.

A primary function of a movement like the present one is to cultivate good understanding and good will between all peoples near and far. We have a noisy and pestiferous little group in America whose regular business seems to be to stir up suspicion and hatred of the people of Japan. You have a larger group in England whose similar vocation is to sow seeds of emnity with the German people. the source of most of the troubles with which we are coping here is ignorance. Dr. John H. DeForest, in his impressive pamphlet on "American Ignorance of Oriental Languages," has startlingly shown the serious practical dangers menacing us in the United States from our ignorance of the speech and some of the simplest usages of our Japanese brothers.

I speak of the international organization which I propose as one in behalf of inter-racial justice; but I mean more than that—I mean that it shall also deal with the prob-

lem of how backward races may best be assisted in their upward progress and development, and how men of all races may have better personal acquaintance with each other.

Let us consider this Universal Races Congress no isolated or final gathering, but simply the first of a series of Universal Races Congresses, bi-ennial or tri-ennial, which shall go regularly on until the day of inter-racial justice and fraternity dawns. Let us too have our International Bureau of Inter-Racial Justice at London or at Berne; and let us who are here go home to Germany, to France, to Italy, to India, to China, to America, each group pledged to organize in its own country a national society of Inter-racial Justice, with its annual National Congress. The material for organization is abundant. I see here in your circular twenty pages of names of men upon the General Committee of this Congress. There are nearly two hundred names from the United States alone. Here is already, if these will so resolve, an American Society of Inter-racial Justice. Let them so resolve; and so let the delegates from France and Belgium and Germany and India resolve. The second Universal Races Congress here in London or in Paris or wherever it may be, would then be largely a representative Congress made up in great measure of regular delegates from national societies. Each national society should have its bureau and its publications, and of such national publications there should be the completest interchange; while the central international bureau should correlate the various national activities and keep each particular effort in influential touch with all the rest.

There is every reason why the international effort inaugurated here in London today should achieve quick and decisive success. It certainly will do it if we here so highly resolve. Let us resolve that every nation here represented shall organize a national society this year, and hold a national congress next year; and let us plan for a second international Congress three years from now. I wish that that 1914 Congress might be held in the United States. That is to be with us a noteworthy international year. We are then to celebrate the centennial of peace between the United States

and Great Britain. We shall invite the International Peace Congress to hold its session with us that year; and the Inter-parliamentary Union will be similarly invited. It will be a good year for the thoughtful men of the world to confer on American soil upon this problem of the right relation of races, which is the cardinal phrase of the general problem of international fraternity and peace. We can tell you in America of noteworthy advance in the solution of our own great race problems. There has been almost a revolution in the last generation in our dealing with our Indian population; and there is at this time a movement hardly less than revolutionary going on in the minds of the best Southern white men touching the Negroes. In the whole history of civilization there has been no more remarkable advance than that of the Negroes in our Southern States since emancipation. The story in industry, in property and in education is the same. The wrongs to our Southern Negroes, political and social, are still flagrant and intolerable; but I am emphasizing here the elements of hope and genuine advance. I believe that in the next decade the new humanity which is becoming so pervasive will achieve no greater triumphs than in the field of inter-racial justice; and it will do this the more rapidly and effectibely as we all make the world our parish and work together internationally.

The most impressive volume which has come to my table this last year is that great volume of 1500 pages, *La Vie Internationale*, issued by the International Bureau at Brussels, and giving lists and accounts of the world's various international organizations up to date, in the fields of politics, science, literature, art and social affairs, with details of their organization and the approaching congresses. It is a potent picture of the broad international web which has already been woven and of the thousand shuttles which, with ever accelerating speed, are pushing on the process. There is no other lack in those eloquent pages so conspicuous as the lack of record of adequate international organizations of the imperative many-sided cause which is represented here. I hail this Congress as a pledge that that deficiency will now be met, and that this commanding international duty will be internationally fulfilled.

RELATIONS OF JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES

By David Starr Jordan, LL.D., President of Stanford University

It is now nearly sixty years since the modern history of Japan began. The arrival of Commodore Perry at Kurihama, the downfall of the Shogun and the restoration of the Mikado mark the point of transition from feudal Japan to the Japan of today.

In all this period, the Japanese nation has been the subject of intense interest to the cultivated people of America and a warm sympathy has arisen between those people of each nation who have come to understand the character and the ideals of the other. This sympathy has been kept alive by the influence of Japanese students in America on the one hand, and on the other by the interest of those who have gone as missionaries, as teachers or advisors in the affairs of Japan.

In Asia, there has existed for many years, a division of the non-Japanese into two sharply defined parties or one may say, attitudes of mind, the pro-Japanese and the anti-Japanese. The disputes of these two types of people have not come to our notice until very lately. Till within the last decade, American influence was almost wholly ranged with the pro-Japanese. Contributory to this fact was our general tendency toward sympathetic interest in a nation which rose to constitutional government through influences from within. The Shimonoseki incident, the visit of General Grant, the aid of the United States in setting aside the obnoxious consular jurisdiction in the treaty ports, all these became expressions of the friendly attitude of America.

The Japanese question, as it is now called, first rose to the horizon in 1899, the year of the abrogation of consular jurisdiction.

The need of cheap labor on the sugar plantations of Hawaii was great and constant. Kalakaua, the king, had

tried to meet this need by "blackbirding" expeditions among the islands of Polynesia. The steamship companies followed by strenuous efforts among the laborers in the rice fields of the region about the inland Sea of Japan, the districts of Okayama, Hiroshima and Yamaguchi. By their insistence and by offers of real wages their emigration agencies brought to Hawaii many men from the lowest stratum in Japanese life, next to the criminal and the outcast—the unskilled and homeless laborers in the rice fields. These have been called coolies, but their position in Japan was quite different from that of the coolies or half slaves of the continent of Asia.

These laborers were treated essentially as slaves in Hawaii. They carried with them none of the culture of Japan, they received none in their new homes. They did not go as colonists. The Japanese with homes do not willingly leave these homes where "their own customs fit them like a garment," to form new ones in another region. The Japanese are not spontaneously colonists. They will go to other lands for study or for trade or for higher wages. But they go with the hope to return. The coolies went to Hawaii solely under the incentive of higher wages.

When Hawaii was annexed to the United States, the shackles of their slavery were thrown off, and the same impulse of higher wages carried them on to San Francisco, Seattle and Vancouver.

In 1899, Mr. W. W. Scott of Honolulu, a former resident of Japan, warned the Japanese authorities of the dangers involved in this movement of Japanese laborers to California. Their lower standard of living and of wages would make them exploitable. This would bring them in conflict with labor unions. Economic clash would beget race prejudice, and Japan could not afford to be judged by her least attractive and least efficient representatives. Influenced by these and similar considerations the Japanese government in 1899, refused passports to all unskilled laborers, and since that time none have come from Japan direct to the Pacific States.

But in response to the continuous demand of Hawaii

they were for a time allowed to go there. Japanese people already constituted the great majority of the population of these islands. Even after passports were refused to laborers going to Hawaii, the immigration of coolies from Hawaii to San Francisco still continued.

There was and is a very great demand for Japanese help among the orchardists of California. No other labor has been adequate and available and it is not easy to see what the fruit interests are to do without Japanese help. In this work, the European laborer has scarcely entered into competition and the prices paid the Japanese are not less than the wages of American labor in the same lines. The demand for Japanese workers in household service and in canning establishments has also been great and unsatisfied.

From the fisheries which the Japanese have almost monopolized in British Columbia and in Hawaii, they have been virtually excluded by statutes limiting the fisheries of California, Oregon and Washington to citizens of these States. Unless born in the United States the Japanese cannot become citizens.

A large portion of the Japanese laborers avoided the orchards and established themselves in the cities where, as laundrymen, restaurant keepers, draymen, carpenters and the like, they entered thus into competition with the American laborers, the most of whom in San Francisco were recent immigrants from Europe.

Their lower scale of living and their peculiarities in other ways soon brought them under the condemnation of the trade unions. Anti-Japanese societies were formed and much effort was spent to the end of the exclusion of Japanese and Korean laborers as the Chinese had already been excluded. The personal violence which accompanied the anti-Chinese campaign of twenty years before was practically absent from this. The Japanese were better able to take care of themselves and also, in spite of much reckless talk and exaggeration of language, there was very little real enmity toward the Japanese with any class of their opponents. Most of the unfriendly talk was for political purposes and the main cause of opposition was economic.

an attitude at first directed against the Chinese could not be measured by our government. It would be a foolish nation to a friendly nation, and a nation willing to do nothing we may desire, provided it could be done with safety. The Chinese exclusion act finds its excuse precisely in the fact that China is not yet a nation. No man can honestly say he is a nation in the proper sense. That China does herself so law, this exclusion act must be fully justified.

In this condition of affairs a definite agreement was made with the Japanese embassy of Japan, that no passports for laborers were to be issued to Japanese laborers, that the responsibility for distribution should rest with Japan, and that all numbers of Japanese passports should be admitted to the country. This agreement has been loyally and faithfully kept by Japan. I am too rigidly perhaps, for it is quite otherwise difficult for Japanese students to come to America. The attitude among our American students is I believe students eager, devoted and perceptive. The fact is the most important factors in maintaining the Japan and the good understanding of it is education. For example these Japanese graduates of our schools comes here a good account of themselves regarding their a the attitude of their people at home, and they bring a good honest and intelligent sympathy in their attitude.

The present situation of the immigration question is that the attitude of the Japanese nation of any sort is entirely a negative. It is in the interest of both nations that we should have the mutual efforts to supercede the "yellow peril" attitude that are prompted by the Japanese in the public welfare.

It is true that the native masses of Asia as well as Africa are hostile to the proud, self-sufficient attitude of their neighbors and ambitions. It is true that toward peace and justice and toward progress and the like the Japanese are in full harmony with the American people. It is their illusion to bring modern methods of war. They are doing in Korea

one of the most interesting experiments in the reclamation of a dying nation undertaken in modern times, comparable to our sanitation of the Canal Zone of Panama. At the same time, the hold of Japan on Korea, like our hold on Panama, rests on an act of arbitrary seizure.

The main justification of the exclusion of Japanese unskilled laborers must be found in the economic conditions on the two sides of the Pacific. It is our theory in America that there should be no permanent class of unskilled laborers, and that it is each man's duty as well as his right to rise to his highest possibility.

In most other nations, a permanent lowest class which must work for the lowest wages and do the menial service of society is taken for granted. This theory is affirmed in the Chinese proverb. "Big fish eat little fish, little fish eat shrimp: shrimp eat mud." It is no part of our policy that shrimps should remain shrimps forever. Cheap labor is exploitable to the injury of labor of a higher grade. There is then justice in the contention for the exclusion of the cheapest and most exploitable type of laborers whatever their race or the country from which they come.

There is also legitimate ground for fear that a wide open door from Asia would crowd our Pacific coast before the natural population of America has found its way there. Such a condition would add to the economic wealth of the coast at the expense of social and political confusion.

Many honest men fear the advent of large numbers of Japanese as likely to provoke racial troubles similar to those which exist in the South. I do not share this opinion. No race is more readily at home in our civilization than the cultivated Japanese. That the rice-field coolie does not assimilate is mainly because of his crude mentality and his lack of any training either Japanese or American. This is broadly true, though among these people are many of fine instincts and marked capacity. The condition of mutual help and mutual tolerance in Hawaii shows that men of a dozen races can get along together if they try to do so. The problem of the South is the problem of slavery; the problem of the half-white, the man with the diverging

instincts of two races, this status changed in an instant, by force, from the position of a chattel to that of a citizen. It is the problem of the half-white man given political equality when social equality is as far away as ever. No bar sinister of this sort nor of any other kind separates the European from the Japanese.

Social reasons for exclusion have a certain value. The Japanese are the most lovable of people, which fact makes them the most clannish. They have the faults of their virtues, and the uneducated Japanese sometime show these faults in unpleasant fashion.

There are still more urgent reasons why the Japanese themselves should insist on exclusion of their coolie laborers from Canada and the United States. The nation cannot afford to have America know it by its least creditable examples. A hundred Japanese rice-field hands are seen in America, to one Japanese gentleman. Thousands of men who never knew a Japanese merchant or artist or scholar have come in contact with Japanese draymen or laundrymen. They have not always found these good neighbors. The present conditions are not permanent, perhaps, but as matters are today it is to the interest of Japan, even more than to the interest of California that the present agreements should be maintained.

Just after the Russian war, when America's sympathy was almost wholly on the side of Japan because the attitude of Russia was believed to be that of wanton aggression, a series of anti-Japanese articles were published in various American newspapers. Who wrote these articles and who paid for them I do not know, but their various half-truths and falsehoods had an unfavorable effect on American public opinion.

The school affair in San Francisco was also unfortunate, although in itself of no significance whatever. In the great fire of 1906, the Chinatown of San Francisco was entirely destroyed. After the fire a temporary school house was established in the neighborhood. There were no Chinese children in this school and the teacher, perhaps fearing loss of position, asked the school board to send the Japanese children

in the neighboring region to her. The school board apparently ignorant of possible international results formed of this an "Oriental School." There were no Chinese children concerned nor is it clear that Japanese children would have suffered even had such been present.

Under our treaty with Japan our schools as every other privilege were open to Japanese subjects on the basis of "the most favored nation." To send Japanese children to an "Oriental School" was probably a violation of this clause of the treaty. It is not certain that this was a violation but it appears as such on the surface. So far as I know, there has been no judicial decision involving this point. In any case, the remedy lay apparently in an injunction suit, and in a quiet determination of the point at issue. It was a mistake, I believe, to make it a matter of international diplomacy. Neither the nation nor the State of California has the slightest control over the schools of San Francisco, unless an action of the school board shall traverse a national or State law or violate a treaty. A treaty has precedence over all local statutes. But the meaning of a treaty can be demonstrated only through judicial process.

The extravagance of the press in both nations stirred up all the latest partisanship in both races involved. On the one hand the injuries to the Japanese children were grossly exaggerated. On the other hand, gratuitous slanders were invented to justify the action of the school board. This action was finally rescinded at the request of the President of the United States who uttered at the same time a sharp reprimand to the people of California. This again was resented by the State, as only five of its citizens were responsible for the act in question, and the people of the State as a whole had no part whatever in anti-Japanese agitation nor any sympathy with the men temporarily in control of affairs in San Francisco. The net result of the whole affair was to alienate sympathy from Japan. This again was unfair for the Japanese nation as a whole had no responsibility for what, at the worst, was an error of judgment on the part of a few of its immigrants.

Since this affair was settled I have not heard a word as to the relation of the Japanese to the schools of San Francisco, and, I presume, that this difficulty, like most others has disappeared with time and patience and mutual consideration. It is not likely to be heard from again.

Only a word need be said of other matters which have vexed the international air. War scares are heard the world over. The world over they are set going by wicked men for evil purposes. In general the design of purveyors of international slanders is to promote orders for guns, powder and warships. There are other mischief makers, who hope to fish in troubled waters.

A few years ago it was suggested in America that the Manchurian railways, built on Chinese territory, by the governments of Russia and Japan should be sold to China. To this end China should borrow the money of an international syndicate under whose authority the railways should be managed. This line of action was for various reasons impossible to China. The suggestion itself was very unwelcome to the Japan authorities as well as to the Japanese people to whom the leased land between Port Arthur and Mukden is hallowed ground, holding the graves of a hundred and thirty thousand of the young men of Japan. The suggestion itself was personal only. It was never acted upon, never approved by the American people and no official action was ever based upon it, and it should not be a subject of worry to either Russia or Japan.

The fur seal question has been under discussion for more than twenty years, ever since the wanton killing of females at sea first threatened the destruction of the Bering Sea herds. By the pelagic sealing of Canada the number of breeding seals in the Pribilof herd was reduced from about 1,000,000 to about 180,000. The entrance of Japan into Bering Sea, disregarding the regulations of the Paris tribunal for the protection of the herd, inadequate as these were, soon reduced these numbers to about 30,000. Last year, a treaty was concluded, Russia, Japan, Canada and the United States being parties to it, by which the matter was honorably and justly settled and the continuance and restoration of the

three herds, American, Russian, and Japanese finally assured. There is not now a single cloud above the official horizon as between the United States and Japan. There have never been any real difficulties and the apparent ones are no greater than must appear wherever great nations border on each other. As the Japanese are fond of saying: The Pacific Ocean unites our nations. It does not separate.

War talk on either side is foolish and criminal. Japan recognizes the United States as her nearest neighbor among western nations, her best customer and most steadfast friend. Her own ambitions and interests lie in the restoration of Korea, the safeguarding of her investments in Manchuria and in the part she must play in the unforetold future of China. For her own affairs she needs every yen she can raise by any means for the next half century. For the future greatness of Japan depends on the return of "the old peace with velvet sandalled feet," which made her the nation she is today.

War and war demands have made her, for the time being, relatively weak, she who once was strong in her spirit of progress, her freedom from debt and in the high ambition of her people. Thirteen hundred millions of dollars in war debt is a burden not lightly carried. Through peace and through peace alone Japan will regain her strength, and none know this better than the men of the wise and patriotic group who now control Japan.

JAPAN REVISITED AFTER THIRTY YEARS

By Thomas C. Mendenhall, Sc.D., LL.D., late President of Worcester Polytechnic Institute, formerly Professor in the Imperial University, Tokyo

In 1881 I left Japan after having enjoyed several delightful years of residence there, under conditions favorable to the acquisition of a fairly good knowledge of the character, disposition and spirit of the Japanese people. While at that time nearly all foreigners, including missionaries as well as those engaged in trade or commerce, were restricted as to their residence to localities set apart for them by the government, exception was made in favor of foreign professors employed in the University who were practically free to live and travel where they liked.

In 1911 I returned to Japan for a stay of nearly three months, during every hour of which I was busy in the discovery of evidences of the wonderful transformation that these thirty years have wrought.

Curiously, yet naturally it was not the tall chimneys, the extensive manufacturing establishments, or the big steamships carrying the flag of Japan that first attracted attention and drew forth exclamations of surprise. One was prepared for that sort of thing, by personal knowledge of small beginnings long ago, by uninterrupted correspondence with Japanese friends, and by any one of the scores of books about Japan that have been printed in the past decade, many of the authors of which have, apparently, seen little else. It was the comparatively trivial, especially the things *not* seen, that caused wonder on first going ashore at Nagasaki. What had become of the "queue," the "top-knot" or small tuft of tied-up hair that partially covered the shaven top of every Japanese head? Gone, absolutely! Not one was to be seen in Nagasaki, Osaka, Kyoto, Tokyo or other city, except on the head of an actor and then it was soon dis-

covered to be part of a wig. In the country one or two were found, the insignia of ultra-conservatism! The absence of the queue was made up for by the presence of the *hat* on the head of nearly every man and boy, where formerly the habit of hat-wearing was so rare that hats were constantly being found where last deposited by the owners, who had gone off without ever "missing" them. Shoes of the western model have become nearly as necessary a part of a man's dress as the western hat and the number of men who clothe themselves completely after the western fashion is now so great that they have long since ceased to attract special attention.

Few things in Japan have been so fixed and unalterable as the fashion in woman's dress. While the material of which it is composed may range from the poor and cheap to the rich, costly and exquisitely beautiful, the "model" has been practically the same for centuries. But even in this a very considerable change has somehow been brought about and it is especially noticeable in the style of hair dressing now all but universal among Japanese ladies. The new style is vastly less complicated and difficult, and hence less costly than the old. It is not very unlike some of the fashions recently in vogue among the western people and to the general European taste is more artistic and beautiful than the elaborate coiffure which so long prevailed. There are many indications of a tendency to change other long established features of the costume of Japanese women and it does not seem rash to predict the abolition of the *Obi*, the tremendously large, heavy and often very expensive girdle, with its enormous "bow" in the back with which a Japanese lady encircles her waist and which, in the eyes of most foreigners detracts so much from the grace of her movements. To abandon this classic feature of woman's dress at once would be little short of a revolution, but already it has disappeared from the authorized and generally prescribed outfit of young women and girls at school who now dress in a very attractive style, uniform in model with charming variations in color according to the taste of the wearer. Twenty-five and thirty years ago there was a pronounced leaning towards European models of dress among Japanese ladies which now, happily,

seems to have quite disappeared. At present this fashion is so rare among them that while a man may travel about the country in European dress without causing the slightest remark, a woman clothed as she would be in Europe or America is immediately surrounded by a horde of the curious of both sexes and all ages, to whom her dress is a great novelty.

In contrast with the condition of thirty years ago the quantity and variety of foreign goods of all kinds offered for sale in the shops have enormously increased. "Made in Germany" is to be read on countless articles in every Japanese city and town and the market for even some of the widely known specialties of Japan has been invaded at home by foreign competitors, and this in spite of the very high import duty that prevails. In porcelain for ordinary use the German combination of cheapness and fairly good quality has led to pretty large importations. One may search in vain in the shops of today for many articles of domestic use and ornament which a generation ago might be found everywhere but which have now disappeared, in many instances because in these things the skilful hand and artistic eye can no longer compete with machinery in the production of articles perhaps less beautiful, but really more useful and satisfactory. Occasionally one discovers that a once highly valued and profitable business or profession has been completely wiped out. Thirty years ago the beautiful metallic mirrors then universally in use among the Japanese could be bought on every street. Mirror casting, grinding and polishing was an art demanding much skill and mirror making was a business that had descended from father to son for many generations. But the superiority of the silvered glass mirror was immediately recognized and now one may search in vain in all the great cities for a shop in which metallic mirrors are offered for sale and the guild of mirror makers is extinct. The metal mirror is one of the "Sacred treasures" of Japan and is always to be found in a place of distinction in Shinto and also in many Buddhist temples. When I asked where were the men who repolished these temple mirrors and supplied new ones when required,

the completeness of the extinction of the profession of mirror making was impressed upon me by the reply that what little there was to be done in that line in these days had been relegated to the umbrella menders!

Attention was soon drawn to the increase in the consumption of foreign foodstuffs or rather of foods that were entirely foreign to the Japanese *menu* of thirty years ago, such as milk, butter, beef, and even cheese. European forms of cakes and confectionery are imitated and, although much sought after, not a single example of the Japanese *Compato*, a favorite confection of former years, could be found.

Such examples of changes in social customs or domestic habits might be multiplied indefinitely, though to many they will appear of minor importance and perhaps too much space has already been given them. By the thoughtful student of the evolution of the Japanese, however, they will not seem to be trivial for they point clearly to that most remarkable characteristic of the people, a facility for readjustment of both external and internal relations, whenever a better adaptation to their environment is secured thereby. What nation in all the history of the world has shown a larger wisdom in the treatment of important domestic affairs than have the Japanese in their management of the perplexing problems of national costume? Immediately after the wars of the restoration the superior advantages of the modern uniform for soldiers was recognized and it was promptly adopted by the new régime. As soon as the educated men of the nation began to engage in various professional and business occupations the great advantage of western costume over the old for such occupations became evident and its use is rapidly becoming universal. On the other hand the unhealthfulness, the costly fickleness and (a Japanese would add) the indecency of modern European dress for women, has been proved by observation and experiment and it is practically rejected by all save the few whose attendance at court or residence abroad makes them unwilling victims. It will be generally conceded that the dress worn by women in Japan is infinitely more "becoming" to them than the models of Paris; it is infinitely less harmful to the health of the wearer.

and from an economic standpoint has the enormous advantage of a practically invariable style. Every garment may be worn until it has done full service and yet there is ample room for display of taste and individual preference through variation in color and character or quality of the material used.

Of the bigger and greater transformations in Japan and especially in Japanese cities so much has been said and written that it is not worth while in this place to attempt any catalogue or detailed description of them though it ought to be said that only those who are familiar with former conditions can appreciate their magnitude. In the large cities and particularly in the capital, much has been done to modernize and adapt the streets and principal buildings to the requirements of the new life. Thousands of houses have been bought or confiscated and destroyed to make beautifully straight and well graded streets from sixty to one hundred feet in width, with twenty or thirty-foot sidewalks, where, before, two narrow carts might have difficulty in passing, and sidewalks for foot passengers were absolutely unknown.

Electric tramways go in all directions and (I am speaking of the capital) some of the tracks are elevated above the street as in many American cities. These modern methods of transportation have been well-nigh fatal to the picturesque jinrikisha with its swift and graceful runner, for in spite of the very considerable increase in the population along with an enormous increase in the business activity of Tokyo, the number of jinrikisha men is only ten to twenty per cent of that of the early days, and the cost of employing them is correspondingly greater.

Much money and great engineering skill have been devoted to the improvement in water supply, to the establishment of drainage and the sanitary condition of cities has been greatly improved. The Japanese have demonstrated in many ways that they are quite abreast of the times in all matters relating to sanitation, hygiene and the control of epidemic or contagious diseases. Most of the streets are well lighted at night, the more important being quite bril-

liant with a display of electric lighting and electric advertising. There are several fine, new theatres where, until the curtain goes up, one might easily imagine oneself in Paris or Berlin, though behind the curtain, in most cases, all is still Japanese. Many innovations, however, have been made in the theatre in the last thirty years, one of the most interesting being the introduction of female actors upon the Japanese stage. Western plays are now frequently put on and during one week of my stay in Tokyo there was a decided "run" on the box office of the leading play house, Hamlet, translated into Japanese, being the attraction.

Few things were more astonishing than the growth during the past forty years of a taste for "foreign" music. In no other respect did the civilization of Japan differ from that of Europe so much as in its music which, through centuries of assiduous cultivation, has become a highly developed and complete system, oriental in its general character, yet distinctly national. It seemed at first that there could be no possible way of bridging over the chasm that yawned between Japanese and European music, the difference being everywhere so great as to make them mutually exclusive. But the remarkable flexibility of the Japanese mind is illustrated by the fact that while few, very few Europeans, even those of long residence, ever *understand* Japanese music well enough to become really fond of it, hundreds of thousands of Japanese find great pleasure in the works of Beethoven, Handel and Wagner. It must not be assumed that this is due to the innate superiority of western music. Their own still holds first place in the hearts of all the music loving people and some of them who are capable of thoroughly understanding and enjoying both systems, sturdily maintain that it possesses certain qualities and characteristics of such excellence that it will have a large contributory influence in the evolution of the "music of the future" and must be reckoned with accordingly. Not only is the music of the great composers listened to with pleasure by the Japanese, but it is reproduced, often in an almost faultless manner. A special "school of music" is supported by the government, managed by competent European direc-

tors and employing skilful foreign teachers. In the recitals given by this school, as well as by others not connected with it, one may hear really fine orchestral performances with excellent chorus singing and occasional violin or piano solos that would be a credit to any concert stage in America.

Time will not allow more than the mere mention of the more noticeable, and to the casual observer the more impressive evidences of the extraordinary advances made by this wonderful people during the past thirty years;—their merchant fleet which carries the flag of the Rising Sun to all quarters of the globe; their great commercial and manufacturing activities; their shipbuilding; their cotton spinning; their big establishments for the manufacture of electric appliances; their mines and mining; their fine system of railways, extending from one end of the country to the other and many other things all of which were unknown in the earlier day.

In Osaka I spent a number of pleasant hours in examining one of the most recently built cotton mills in which about twelve hundred people are employed. Attached to it is a hospital with several professional nurses and a physician in constant attendance. All of the employees had at least one meal each day in the establishment for which purpose there was provided a large and comfortable dining room where a thousand or more might be served at once, the food, of excellent quality, being prepared by a competent chef with his corps of assistants. For many who spent practically all of their time inside of the gates there was provided a large amusement room and lecture hall in which a great variety of entertainments were given from time to time. Indeed I do not believe the most advanced of American or English cotton mills go further than this in the exercise of care for the health, comfort and pleasure of their employees. This mill was one of a recently formed "trust" or "merger" of ten of about the same size and character. Corporations and combinations are quite as well known in Japan as elsewhere and even the "big department store" is found in large cities.

Of advances in educational matters it is hardly necessary to speak at length. The intelligent public has already been enlightened on that subject through the interesting addresses recently given in America and in England by Baron Kikuchi, formerly Minister of Education and now President of the Imperial University at Kyoto and by the exhaustive treatise on "Education in Japan" which he has recently published.

The one institution of University rank has multiplied into four "Imperial Universities" and the demand for higher education is so great that there is a large overflow of students into well organized and well managed colleges maintained by private endowment. In the Imperial Universities the standards of admission and graduation are as high as in any other part of the world, the most rigorous tests of scholarship being applied. Nearly all the more important work in the various professions and in the civil life of the country is done by graduates of these institutions. In a few years the exceptions will be very rare and I doubt if there is another country in the world in which the University plays so large a part. Professors in these great schools, in addition to their regular work as teachers, are, for the most part, actively engaged in original research along the principal lines of scientific investigation. An Active National Academy exists, scientific publications are numerous and the work of men of science in Japan has long ago commanded the respect and admiration of the world. Primary and secondary schools have made fully as much progress as those of higher rank; teachers are trained in excellent normal schools; the most improved methods of instruction are used and the substantially built, comfortable and admirably planned school buildings were a delightful surprise.

Newspapers have greatly increased both in number and in influence. Many of them have very large circulations and are well edited, though some of them are by no means free from the vices so glaringly evident and so profoundly regrettable in the great majority of American and European journals. There are several excellent daily newspapers printed in the English language, some of which are managed and edited entirely by Japanese.

One of the most interesting changes noted, of which there was much evidence everywhere, and one not quite easy to account for was what seemed to be a sort of revival or recrudescence of Buddhism. In many of the old temples there were marked evidences of prosperity; repairs, restorations, improvements and additions were common. And there were new temples, some of them larger and more costly than ever before erected. Millions of dollars had been expended in the construction of one magnificent shrine in Kyoto, of immense size and great beauty, satisfactory proof of the fact that the skill and artistic taste for which the old builders were famous has not been lost. These newer structures were the result of voluntary contributions from members of a sect which might be said to represent a more liberal and enlightened Buddhism which seems to have become extremely popular in recent years. In considering the religious faith of the Japanese it is necessary to remember that Buddhism is a religion of many sects, differing from each other as widely as the various sects of Christianity. The Buddhism of Ceylon, of Burmah or of China is not the Buddhism of Japan, nor is the Buddhism of five hundred years ago that of today, any more than the Christianity of the Middle Ages is that of today. More than one of the most noted European and American scholars who have lived long in Japan have publically espoused Buddhism.

At every hand are seen evidences of the general prosperity of the Japanese at the present time. A visitor, returning after thirty years is struck by the absence of *beggars* from highways, public places, and many localities about which, in former times, they literally swarmed. This is probably not to be attributed to the entire absence of poverty but in large degree to the energetic measures of the government for the suppression of the vice, along with enlarged and improved public charities. One is tempted to start an inquiry concerning this prosperity, as to whether the individual as well as the nation is enjoying it;—for taxes are extremely high, the “cost of living” has more than doubled and the tariff on imported goods is in many cases so heavy as to seem pro-

hibitory, all of which is a natural and necessary result of the two great wars in which Japan has been engaged within the past fifteen years. Yet in not a single instance did I hear what could justly be called a *complaint* against the excessive taxation though it is evidently a heavy burden upon all classes.

Much has been said and written about the *patriotism* of the Japanese and, indeed, this element of their character is so highly developed that the word seems to take on a new meaning when applied to them. Their loyalty to their ruler is a universally accepted religion. Nothing is left undone to cultivate this sentiment and to create a pride in their country's achievements. Even the hasty traveller must be impressed by the display in all quarters of relics of the victorious engagements of the army and navy in the recent war with Russia. In almost every public place in town or country, in temples, schoolhouses and grounds, in the University, public museum, palaces and parks, there may be seen immense cannon, parts of captured ships, steam boilers, locomotives, small arms of all kinds, each with an inscription relating the story of its capture. One is forcibly reminded of the practice of the Roman Republic in displaying the beaks of captured ships upon its first great rostrum, thus decorating and naming it forever. One of the most curious and interesting of the relics of the war is a huge ship taken from the Russians, now anchored in the Bay of Yedo and enjoying considerable vogue as a restaurant and place of popular resort.

Of the unselfish devotion of the Japanese soldiers and sailors, their courage and prowess nothing need besaid. Against heavy odds they have proved them to the satisfaction of a not too credulous world. And it is important to note that there was no field of Rugby or Eton on which these victories were won. The Japanese are not an athletic people in the usual American or English meaning of the word. Students in the Imperial Universities *do not play foot-ball*, considering it not quite in harmony with the dignity and serious nature of the work in which they are engaged. It

would, indeed, be near the truth to say that the victories of Japan were won *in* the school and university but *not* on the play ground. They were victories of brain rather than brawn.

In spite of all one sees and hears no careful and disinterested observer can consider the Japanese a war-like people. As individuals they are most peaceful in disposition. In no other country in the world have I seen so little "physical conflict" among men. Even when under the influence of *sake* their quarrels are generally light, harmless and evanescent.

But when war is forced upon them, as they believe it to have been in their most recent conflict, in the defence of their emperor, their country or the honor of their nation, they fight as few fight in these modern days.

Within the past few years there has been much wild and foolish talk among Americans in which it is declared or assumed that the Japanese, both Government and people, are anxious to go to war with the United States. Much of this has originated, it is said, among a class whose professional advancement can only be greatly accelerated by inducing their own country to engage in battle with another. In my judgment nothing could easily be further from the truth. It might almost be said that it is the one thing above all others that they wish to avoid. That they have more than one good reason for feeling that the "square deal" has not always been accorded them by us, cannot be denied. Nor can it be denied that they have treated each delicate situation as it arose with infinite patience and tact; there has been no bluff, bluster or arrogance but at every turn they have shown their earnest desire to maintain friendly relations with us, even when considerable sacrifices have been necessary. Unfortunately as a people we are too busily engaged in the activities of trade and commerce to give much consideration to questions that do not immediately affect those activities, forgetting today what we said and did yesterday and giving no thought to what we shall say or do tomorrow. We accept the false and reject the true with equal readiness

and are thus always in danger of being led into situations from which it will be difficult to extricate ourselves. In view of our rapidly growing interests in the East it is important for us to realize that there is no nation in the world whose feeling for us today is more *genuinely friendly* than that of Japan. It will be an everlasting disgrace if we strain that friendly feeling beyond its elastic limit by yielding to the senseless clamor of a very small minority of our own people who are either ignorant or corrupt.

THE JAPANESE IN AMERICA

*By Jokichi Takamine, Sc.D., President of the Nippon Club
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of Agriculture and Commerce in Japan*

The first Japanese who ever came to America, as far as is known, was Manjiro Nakahama, a fourteen year old lad, who was picked up by the captain of an American fishing vessel, in 1841, twelve years before the coming of Commodore Perry to Japan. Nakahama with four companions had sailed out into the ocean on a fishing expedition; their boat had been wrecked by a storm, and they were finally washed ashore on a desert island in the northern Pacific. Three months of dire privation were passed on the island before the little party was rescued by the American vessel. The other Japanese were left in Hawaii, while Nakahama, who became a favorite of the captain, was brought to the United States, and placed in school. When Commodore Perry came to Japan, Nakahama acted as interpreter in the negotiations carried on between the American envoy and the Japanese government, represented by the feudal officials.

Historically speaking, the fact that the first Japanese who came to America was a student is a mere accident of circumstance; but when one reflects upon the past and present attitude of the Japanese, both at home and in America, toward this country, this incident has a deep significance in that the Japanese are always desirous of coming to America as students—to learn something, and to find something that seems worth the learning. The Japanese who are eager to come to America are in the main students; the Japanese who are in America, whatever work they may be doing here, are students at heart. They are conscious of their good fortune in being in touch with Western civilization, and are determined to understand it and to

introduce it into their own country. It was so in the past, and it is so now.

When Commodore Perry first came to Japan, most Japanese believed that all foreigners were barbarians, and they believed it simply because they did not comprehend what Western civilization was. But some of the intelligent class of Japanese did recognize that the foreigners with their awe-inspiring warships,—“blackships” as they were called by the Japanese at the time—had something which the Japanese did not possess. Young men, eager to learn, eager to do some service for their country, wanted to go to Occidental countries, though their going was prohibited by the government of the time under penalty of death. Some of these ambitious young men failed, but some succeeded in evading the strict surveillance of the government, and as stowaways reached foreign shores. The late Prince Ito, the greatest statesman of modern Japan, who went to England during the tumultuous times of the opening of Japan to foreign countries, was one. The late Jo Niisima, founder of the Doshisha Christian College, who worked his passage to America on a tramp steamer, and got a Christian education here, was another. Later on, when Western learning was encouraged in Japan, many bright young men found their way to American colleges, and these men are today among the foremost leaders of the country. The late Marquis Komura, who represented Japan at the Portsmouth Peace Conference concluding the Russo-Japanese War, was a graduate of Harvard; Viscount Chinda, the new ambassador to the United States, is also a graduate of an American university. Dr. Hatoyama who died last month, and who was a prominent political leader, was a graduate of Yale. Princess Oyama, wife of the commander of the Japanese forces in the Russian War, is a Vassar graduate. The wife of Viscount Uchida, recently Ambassador to America, is a graduate of Bryn Mawr. President Yamakawa of the newly organized Imperial University of Kyushu studied at Yale. Leaders in religious and educational circles who have been educated in America are literally innumerable. These young men and women who

were educated in America a generation ago or later came to be the guiding spirits of modern Japan. They represented ability, culture, enlightenment, and all that higher education means in the making of a man or woman. They were an object lesson of Western civilization. They told the young men of Japan of the land of liberty and justice, the land of Washington and Lincoln, the land of Longfellow, Irving, Hawthorne and Mark Twain. These names have thrilled all Japanese who desire to come to America, and thrilled them because they are students. New Haven and Cambridge are names even more familiar to the Japanese than New York and Chicago. Some of these young men may have means. When they have, they come to America as regular college students. Some may not be so fortunate; these work here for their education.

Herein lies the decided difference between the Japanese and European immigrants. The European immigrants are in the main attracted here by the stories of huge fortunes made and to be made in America. The jingle of the dollar is in their ears all the way across the Atlantic. The Japanese do not know much about American millionaires. Their dreams are not of money but of books and colleges. There are Japanese farmers in the West and Japanese domestic servants in the East. One complaint we always hear about these Japanese servants is that they demand time to attend night schools or similar institutions. We also hear of Japanese butlers being discovered in kitchen corners, writing a poem or an essay. The American employer wonders why these Japanese cannot devote their attention to their work or other profitable business, instead of reading books and talking of colleges. Their wonder is quite natural, in view of the fact that the European immigrant throws himself heart and soul into the work that his employer may give him—if only it pays. It requires a long time for the Japanese young men to lose their ambition to get an American education, if they ever lose it.

A few years ago, when the Japanese government prohibited, at the request of the American authorities, the

coming of the Japanese laborers to America, a vital blow was dealt to the young men who were not rich enough to come to America as regular college students, but who still wanted to come, not really to work, but to learn. The flow of immigration from Japan to America has not only been stopped, but reversed. The excess of the Japanese departures from the United States over arrivals has been about 2,500 a year since 1908. The forced diminution of the Japanese population in the West had a disastrous effect on Japanese mercantile houses catering to their needs. Not a few banks and stores were forced to close, and those left are trying to remodel their business so as to cater to the general public, instead of to Japanese customers only. These attempts happily have in most cases been successful.

The charge that the Japanese are an undesirable element in the population of America is not sustained by fact. As already stated, the Japanese coming to America are mostly aspiring students and have had the benefit of a good education at home. Often we see graduates of the Japanese colleges working as ordinary farm-hands in the West and as butlers in the East. They have the peculiar characteristics that education alone can impart to a man. They have a sense of honor, of duty and of pride. They may have weaknesses, too, but I do not hesitate to assert upon their behalf, that when they become citizens of America they will be worthy citizens. The fact that the Japanese in San Francisco, though small in number, readily subscribed the sum of \$50,000 to the fund of the coming Panama-Pacific Exposition certainly does not show that they are indifferent to what is going on around them.

A decided characteristic of the Japanese in this country is their remarkable assimilation of American manners and customs. There is in no Occidental city a Japantown as there is a Chinatown. Though there are two thousand Japanese in New York, they are scattered all over the city, and so thoroughly merged in the population that they never form an element apart. The allegation that the Japanese are unassimilable is a totally mistaken one. The

Japanese in California last summer begged that some representative Japanese from home might visit them and study their conditions. Dr. Nitobe, the first exchange professor between the United States and Japan, and Representative Saburo Shimada, who had taken up the mission of visiting California, both came, expecting to hear many and various complaints from the Japanese in the Western States in view of the great number of anti-Japanese problems originating there. The surprise of the visitors was all the greater when they discovered for instance that the Japanese in California had really invited them that they might observe the prosperous condition in which they were living. They were evidently liked and respected by their American neighbors; were perfectly satisfied with the treatment they received from the American authorities. They declared that the so-called anti-Japanese feeling was a political fiction only, and had nothing to do with the actualities of life. They were materially prosperous, and with prosperity, there has come a universal desire to marry. To accomplish this, they have evolved a plan of finding wives through the exchange of photographs with young women at home, the result being that each steamer arriving in San Francisco brings a bevy of blushing brides from the country of the cherry and chrysanthemum. So these Asiatics settle on America's soil, aspiring to bring up a generation of worthy citizens of this great republic.

In California the Japanese are mostly engaged in agriculture. The land cultivated by them amounts to about 200,000 acres, yielding \$6,000,000 worth of various products each year. Professor Takahashi of Tokyo University not long ago upon a visit to Fresno, California, said: "Twelve years ago there were only four Japanese graves in Fresno. Now there are 1,200. During these years, 10,000 Japanese came to Fresno to pick grapes, the Caucasian laborer being unable to do the work in a squatting position as the Japanese do it. The temperature at the grape-gathering season is about 140° Fahrenheit, and the heat of the gravel scorches the pickers' feet even through the specially-made leather shoe soles about an inch thick.

Maddened with thirst, they eat the grapes, drink polluted water, and die of typhoid fever, the disease which is responsible for the death of one in every eight of them. These men fought a twelve years' war in the California vineyards, and fell on the field at a rate such as is seldom seen on even the most destructive of battlefields. So was the fruit industry in California brought to the condition in which it is today; and the exclusion of Japanese labor will be impossible without revolutionizing the conditions of the growing of fruits and their marketing, a result neither possible nor desirable as pointed out in an official report of the Labor Commissioner of California.

"The California fruit growers have, in the absence of the Japanese, imported Hindoo laborers, and found them very unsatisfactory. The fact that the Japanese are necessary for the development of America, is undeniable, and any attempt to conceal or misrepresent this fact, is unjust, unwarranted, unmoral and unfriendly."

The Commissioner of the Labor Bureau of California after an exhaustive investigation into Japanese labor reported that this labor or its equivalent was essential to the development and carrying on of some specialized agricultural industries, such, for example, as fruits and sugar beets. It is now admitted that the anti-Japanese agitation in California was all due to the machinations of local political organs. Where such influence is not exercised, for instance at Seattle, the utmost cordiality exists between the Japanese and the Americans in whatever circumstances they may meet.

You who live in the United States do not know the magic of the word America as the Japanese young men do. There are even at the present moment thousands of Japanese longing for the chance to cross the Pacific, but because they must work in America to live, they are barred from seeing the land of their hopes and aspirations. If they did come, you may be sure that they would contribute their full share as their forerunners have done, to the progress of that wonderful civilization that is American.

Is not the Japanese laboring class doing its work well in

America? And on the intellectual side, also, are not the Japanese doing creditable work, particularly when the smallness of their number here is considered?

About the year 1886 the newspapers in Japan made it a point to urge the desirability of Japanese students proceeding to America, and in consequence, San Francisco soon came to harbor many of them. The first thing they did upon their arrival was to publish a weekly magazine, styled *New Japan*, printing it by mimeograph. It advocated extreme radicalism, a radicalism that was characterized more by courage than by discretion. Its distribution in Japan was frequently prohibited, and it had to change its name from time to time, until it was compelled finally to suspend publication about 1892. At present there are three newspapers published in San Francisco. They are the *New World*, established fifteen years ago, the *Nichi-bei* (Japan and America), established ten years ago, and the *San Francisco News*, established ten years ago. They are all published in Japanese. In fact there are one or more Japanese newspapers in every town where live a sufficient number of Japanese. Such is the case with Los Angeles, Sacramento, Seattle, Portland, Salt Lake, Denver, and New York. In New York, there are two Japanese weekly newspapers, the *Japanese American Commercial Weekly* and the *New York Shimpo*; and the Oriental Information Agency is publishing in English a monthly, called *The Oriental Review*, which seeks to promote a better understanding of Oriental affairs by the American public.

There are also many individuals working in the line of intellectual advancement in America. Kakuzo Okakura, Curator of the Japanese Department of the Boston Museum, has brought the collection of Japanese art objects there to a plane rarely seen even in Japan itself. Dr. Iyenaga, professorial lecturer of the Chicago University, Dr. Asakawa, assistant professor of Yale University, Mr. Kinnosuke Adachi and Mr. Masaji Miyagawa, contributors to magazines and newspapers, are all making valuable contributions to Western knowledge of the East in speech or writing. There are also Japanese medical authorities work-

ing independently or with various American institutions, whose discoveries in medicine have already won world-wide recognition.

It is often asserted that the Japanese are indifferent to religion. I do not know that any of the Western nations are so particularly interested in religion that they can claim to be more religious than the Japanese. If there are any people who have more interest in religion than others, they are those whose most distinctive character is religious. Mohamedans, Mormons, and believers in a few other such religions may be such. The Japanese are not so fanatical. They are Buddhists and Shintoists at the same time; they believe in the precepts of Confucius, and some of them are Christians. The Honganji, which is the Buddhist Vatican in Japan, has no less than fifteen temples in America, including one in Vancouver. These temples may be found in San Francisco, Sacramento, Oakland, Stockton, San José, Fresno, Los Angeles, Portland, Seattle, and other places on the Pacific coast. The Buddhist Japanese in America are also organized into various associations which, like the Y. M. C. A., have their own library, music corps, and recreation departments. They are publishing Buddhist magazines, such as *American Buddhism*, *Teaching of Buddha*, *Los Angeles Buddhism*, and others, either in Japanese or English. There are also Japanese Christian churches of different denominations both on the Pacific coast and in the Eastern States, though most Japanese Christians are inclined to attend American churches of their own denomination.

There are a number of Japanese in America like Kanae Nagasawa of Sonoma County and Kinji Ushijima of San Francisco whose work in industrial or agricultural lines has already been crowned with success. Both of these men came to America as students, and seeing the vast opportunities that America offered to any man of industrial ability, plunged into business earnestly. Nagasawa was a student in England at the time Japan was passing through the stirring period of the restoration of the imperial régime. Money ceased to come from home, and Nagasawa was

brought to America by Townsend Harris and worked on his plantation. Afterwards he started a farm of his own, and now owns 2,000 acres of vineyards and makes more than \$1,000,000 worth of wine every year. Ushijima of San Francisco is called a "potato king." Before success crowned his business—success due to Spanish-American War he had failed and failed until he was reduced to such a condition that he was forced to live on flour and salt. Another Japanese millionaire of California almost monopolizes the supply of flowers for San Francisco.

Wherever there is sufficient number of Japanese there are Japanese restaurants, hotels, laundries, and stores. The customers are Japanese farmers working on their own farms or on leased land, or those employed by American farmers. According to the report of the Labor Commissioner of California, the Japanese furnish 87 per cent of the strawberry, 67 per cent of the beet, 50 per cent of the grape, and more than 50 per cent of such other agricultural products as require some productive skill, that are raised in California. This shows to what extent the Japanese have become necessary in the carrying on of agriculture in California.

The Japanese scattered in other parts of the United States are not pursuing so uniform a trade as those in California. In Washington there are about 10,000 Japanese, principally working as domestic servants, in sawmills and railroad building, or on farms. In the Eastern States, a great number of Japanese are doing housework. Some of them, however, are earning their living as acrobats, or as owners of rolling ball establishments in summer resorts and fairs.

By far the most important branch of the Japanese community in the United States is that engaged in the Japanese-American trade. Last year the trade between Japan and America amounted to \$100,000,000, the exports from America to Japan being \$28,000,000 and exports from Japan to America \$72,000,000. The main currents of the trade are in the buying of cotton and machinery from America by Japan, and in the buying of silk, tea, and porcelain by America from Japan. The greater portion of these lines

of business is carried on by the Japanese. The Japanese buyers of cotton are backed by Japanese capital and have their offices in New York and in the cotton-producing centers. The buyers of machinery are also on the spot. Mitsui, Okura, Takata, and Iida, are names that represent huge wealth in Japan. Their companies have offices in New York and are supplying American machinery to Japanese railways, mines, and factories. In the sale of Japanese goods to America, again, New York has become a principal center of distribution. Mitsui and Morimura are doing a large business.

Morimura and Company, New York, is the largest store in the world dealing in Japanese porcelain, and is largely responsible for the building up of the Japanese porcelain trade in the United States. The firm has modelled its factories at home so as to make its porcelain suit the American tastes.

The Japanese in the various American cities have their clubs, but the most important of these is the Nippon Club, of New York, with its dainty Japanese drawing room, and a membership of 130. It has a few American members, General Stewart L. Woodford being one. There is also the Japan Society of New York, established with a view to promoting friendly relations between Japan and America. This society is also seeking to make Americans understand the Japanese through the medium of exhibitions, lectures and dinners. Its membership includes the most prominent figures both American and Japanese, in the financial and social circles of New York.

As I have said before, the immigration of laborers from Japan to the United States has ceased since the present arrangement between the two nations was agreed to, but the relations of the two countries are becoming closer and closer because of the increasing interest shown by America in the Far East, and by the Japanese in American affairs. The day, I hope, is not far distant when the peoples of these two lands on the Pacific's shores will understand and appreciate one another thoroughly and well, to the everlasting good not only to themselves but of all the children of men.

THE FAMILY OF NATIONS IDEA AND JAPAN

By George Grafton Wilson, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of International Law in Harvard University

From the late years of the sixteenth century the idea of a family of nations frequently appeared. The Grand Design of Henry IV in 1603 set forth a plan "to divide proportionately the whole of Europe between a certain number of Powers, which would have nothing to envy one another for on the ground of equality, and nothing to fear on the ground of the balance of power" (VI, *Memoires du Duc de Sully*, 129). The number of states was to be fifteen, divided into three classes, (1) six hereditary monarchies: France, Spain, Great Britain, Denmark, Sweden and Lombardy; (2) five elective monarchies: the Empire, the Papacy, Poland, Hungary and Bohemia; and (3) four republics: Venice, the Republic of Italy, Switzerland and the Belgian Republic.

Other propositions looking toward the formation of a "society of states" followed. In 1693 William Penn set forth a plan in an "Essay towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe by the Establishment of an European Dyet, Parliament, or Estates." This, like other plans, aimed particularly to secure peace among the nations. That was the plan of Abbé Saint Pierre a few years later, of von Gentz a hundred years later, and of many of our own day.

There was developing at the same time with these early plans a theoretical basis for a family of nations resting not on the desire for peace but on the current conception of the nature of the state as founded in natural law. Franciscus Suarez (1548-1617), a learned Spanish theologian writing in 1612, refers to the unity of the human race, saying that every state, republic or kingdom forms a member of this general body. He further says, "None of these states is sufficient for itself; all have need of reciprocal support, association, and mutual relations to ameliorate their situa-

ation" (*Tractatus de Legibus ac de Deo Legislatore*, II, 19, 9). Grotius, the greatest contributor to the science of international law writing in 1625, finds a similar basis for many obligations. Wolf, writing in the middle of the eighteenth century after presenting the duties of nations toward one another, says, "Finally as the nations are like the citizens of a great civil society, they ought to live in harmony with one another and consequently they ought to avoid with care all discord and all that leads thereto" (*Institutiones*, XCXXIV). Vattel, whose systematic work influenced thought after the middle of the eighteenth century, particularly in England and America, wrote in 1758, "Nations being composed of men naturally free and independent, and who, before the establishment of civil societies, live together in a state of nature, nations, or sovereign states, are to be considered as so many free persons, living together in the state of nature." These nations Vattel says later "are obliged to cultivate toward one another the intercourse of humanity" which results in the establishment of the society of nations (*Droit des Gens, Preliminaries*, secs. 4, 11). Many later writers and practical statesmen follow the doctrine of natural law as a basis for the unity known as the family of nations.

Whatever the theoretical basis of the idea of the family of nations, historically the treaty of Westphalia of 1648 established a European family of nations which assumed to determine what other political unities should be received to membership on terms of equality. Practical considerations often furnished support for the theoretical arguments already mentioned as supported by text-writers.

Prior to the treaty of Westphalia in 1648, there were relations among *de facto* states. Many of these states had been accustomed to send and to receive ambassadors or other representatives. The long and ardent discussions preceding the signing of the treaty of 1648 certainly brought about a realization of the necessity for a greater agreement upon the methods of interstate negotiation. The assembling of the representatives of so many states was in itself significant of the realization of the community of interests among

European states. The development of the custom of sending by one state of diplomatic representatives to reside permanently near the sovereign of another state, while sometimes accompanied by infelicitous jealousies, was nevertheless steady. The idea of unity of interest among European states became an accepted principle of European policy. The intercourse of European states, for many years intermittent, became a settled practice. The collapse of the idea of one imperial power dominating all others made it necessary that something be found to take its place if stability in European conditions was to be maintained. The idea that the states of Europe formed a family came to be prevalent. The reference on the part of these states to common standards gave the idea sufficient support.

The states participating in the negotiations which led to the treaty of Westphalia were considered as members of the family of nations, and their standing in the family was determined as being that recognized by the treaty. Careful investigation into the history of the acquisition of this standing was not thought expedient. Facts were accepted as they were.

This European family did not include all the states which have subsequently become parts of the European system. Russia was among those not directly represented in the negotiations preceding 1648. Russia under Peter the Great looked toward Europe rather than toward Asia, and was gradually admitted to the European councils, and even was granted a share in the partition of one of the formerly recognized states when Poland was divided.

Changes of territory and readjustment of power brought new states within the European family or caused the disappearance of old states. The idea that the international family was made up exclusively of members from western Europe disappeared, and a broader conception took its place.

Naturally membership in the family of nations must be limited to states which are willing to recognize the principles of law upon which the international society is based. These principles were regarded as European, and prevailed

among states having what was called a Christian civilization and a degree of common interests, yet not all European states were regarded as members of the international society. Only those states which had acquired a standard satisfactory to the self-constituted judges were considered as within the family.

With the recognition of the United States the circle of the family of nations was somewhat enlarged. The United States was, however, an expansion of Europe, but as Hamilton said in speaking of the United States, "Ever since we have been an independent nation, we have appealed to and acted upon the modern law of nations as understood in Europe. Various resolutions of Congress during our Revolution, the correspondence of executive officers, the decisions of our courts of admiralty, all recognize this standard" (*Letters to Camillus*, No. 20). It was understood also that the United States would not become involved in European affairs. As Washington said in his farewell address in 1796, "Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation."

France had favored the recognition of the United States as a means to bring pressure upon England. Spain early realized that this course would make it more difficult for her to maintain her colonies in the New World. The policy of England was favorable to the recognition of the statehood of the revolting Spanish colonies in the early nineteenth century.

The policy of the continental states in the early years of the nineteenth century gave rise to an American doctrine which makes the states of the western hemisphere a family for certain purposes. President Roosevelt, in his message of December 3, 1901, announced that "The Monroe Doctrine should be the cardinal feature of the foreign policy of all the nations of the two Americas as it is of the United States." As in earlier days, writers had produced treatises upon "European International Law," so in these later days appear such treatises as "Le Droit International Américain" (1910) of Dr. Alexandre Alvarez.

While there may be certain phases of the principles of

interstate negotiation which apply particularly to a given continent as to Europe or America, the doctrine of the family of nations would seem to support the contention that certain fundamental principles should prevail among all states members of the international circle.

While the states of North and South America were less frequently in relations with other states than were the continental states, yet they claimed all the privileges and immunities of the oldest and most powerful members of the international society. Their claims were sometimes disregarded, as is evident in the extension of the principle of the exercise of the right of asylum in many South and Central American states.

Turkey, while its system of government and its religion was unlike the European systems, was in 1856 formally admitted to "the participation in the advantages of European public law and concert."

The other states admitted to the family had been constituted out of peoples who had extended the European civilization to other lands. Turkey was admitted to the family without the qualifications formerly thought to be necessary for membership. Wherein her *legal system* did not conform to the European system, it was necessary for Turkey to allow to foreigners special exemptions which they had previously enjoyed, and in many respects the admission was rather nominal than real, and the Turkish position in Europe has been the subject of the play of European politics.

Sir William Scott, Lord Stowell, in 1801, speaking of the Turkish dominions, said "The inhabitants of those countries are not professors of exactly the same law of nations with ourselves. In consideration of the peculiarities of their situation and character, the court has repeatedly expressed a disposition not to hold them bound to the utmost rigor of that system of public laws on which European states have so long acted in their intercourse with one another" (*The Madonna de-l Burso*, 4 C., Rob. 169).

Other states, particularly in Asia, had for many years granted special privileges and protection to citizens of

states which were members of the family of nations under the form of extritoriality. Europeans had in these states the right to be tried by their own courts, while similar privileges were not extended to foreigners in European states. These states not members of the family of nations were not invited to participate in the conferences of European powers save in such general conferences as, for example, those assembled at The Hague in 1899 and 1907.

Till 1854 Japan had been generally closed to foreigners. The treaty of March 31, 1854, provided for peace, commerce and navigation between the United States and Japan. British, Russian, French, Portuguese and German treaties soon followed. The treaty of 1858 with the United States was more extended in scope, but the Japanese treaties before the last decade of the nineteenth century usually contained clauses like that in Article 6 of the treaty of 1858 with the United States, which says, "Americans committing offences against Japanese shall be tried in American consular courts, and when guilty shall be punished according to American law."

Special quarters had been set aside in cities for the use of foreigners, and special exemptions were extended to these quarters. Certain of these privileges gave to the foreigners advantages not possessed by the Japanese. The treaty between the United States and Japan, which was signed November 22, 1894, and whose important clauses became operative July 17, 1899, provided in Article I that,

"The citizens or subjects of each of the two High Contracting Parties shall have free access to the Courts of Justice in pursuit and defense of their rights; they shall be at liberty equally with native citizens or subjects to choose and employ lawyers, advocates and representatives to pursue and defend their rights before such Courts, and in all other matters connected with the administration of justice they shall enjoy all the rights and privileges enjoyed by native citizens or subjects."

Article XVII of the same treaty provides that "The several Foreign Settlements in Japan shall, from the date this treaty comes into force, be incorporated with the respec-

tive Japanese Communes, and shall thenceforth form part of the general municipal system in Japan. The competent Japanese authorities shall thereupon assume all municipal obligations and duties in respect thereof, and the common funds and property, if any, belonging to such settlements shall at the same time be transferred to the said Japanese Authorities."

The Japanese fully realized that by these new agreements with the members of the family of nations, the new Island Empire had been fully received into the international society in the most formal and deliberate manner. The work of the special embassy which Japan had sent to the west in 1871 had gradually become effective. Great Britain offered a revised treaty in 1884. Ten years later the treaties with most of the great states were revised, and in 1899, after forty-five years from the coming of Commodore Perry to the closed doors of Japan, the Empire was received into full fellowship of the international family.

Marquis Yamagata, the minister president of state, in an official notification, said on July 1, 1899:

"The revision of the treaties in the sense of placing on a footing of equality the intercourse of this country with foreign States, was the basis of the great liberal policy adopted at the time of the restoration, and that such a course conduces to enhance the prestige of the Empire and to promote the prosperity of the people, is a proposition not requiring demonstration. But if there should be anything defective in the methods adopted for giving effect to the treaties, not merely will the object of revision be sacrificed, but also the country's relations with friendly powers will be impaired and its prestige may be lowered. It is of course beyond question that any rights and privileges accruing to us as a result of treaty revision should be duly asserted. But there devolves upon the Government of this Empire the responsibility, and upon the people of this realm, the duty of protecting the rights and privileges of foreigners, and of sparing no effort that they may one and all be enabled to reside in the country confidently and contentedly. It behooves all officials to clearly apprehend the august intentions, and to pay profound attention to these points" (United States Foreign Relations, 1899, p. 470).

The obligations assumed by Japan were as fully realized as the privileges gained. The chief officials of the departments of government issued instructions to the officials under

them showing this realization of obligation. The instructions of Viscount Katsura, minister of war, breathes the spirit of restraint which was evident in all.

"The successful revision of treaties has placed the country on a footing equal with western powers, but it must not be forgotten that at the same time grave responsibilities thereby devolve upon it. On the morrow of the operation of revised treaties foreigners will come and go as they like, will freely fix their abodes or pursue business in the interior, and in consequence the people will have far greater occasions than before of coming into contact with foreigners. Now, history, both Japanese and foreign, shows that international troubles have had their origin very frequently in the daily intercourse between the people of a land and aliens, consequently the people of this Empire, now that the system of mixed residence will be inaugurated, must act with discretion and magnanimity toward foreign neighbors, so that the reality of being a civilized power may be manifested in the eyes of foreign nations, and that any accident involving trouble with foreign countries may be efficiently guarded against. The reputation of our soldiers as sincere and loyal subjects of His Majesty, faithful in the discharge of the public duties, and, as the flower of the nation, imbued with the spirit of manly valor, is acknowledged alike at home and abroad. Suppose the soldiers crowned with such renown and praise be betrayed into committing indiscreet acts toward foreigners. The consequence will not only result in affecting the dignity of the troops, but may even invite ignominy upon the nation and involve the imperial court in difficulty. Bearing all these points in mind the troops must strictly be on their guard against all indiscreet actions (United States Foreign Relations, 1899, p. 474).

These instructions all reflected the spirit of His August Majesty, the Emperor, whose rescript of June 30, 1899, said:

"Governing our realm by the abiding aid of our ancestors' achievements, which have enabled us to secure the prosperity of our people at home and to establish relations of close amity with the nations abroad, it is a source of heartfelt gratification to us that, in the sequel of exhaustive planning and repeated negotiations, an agreement has been come to with the powers, and the revision of the treaties, our long-cherished aim, is today on the eve of becoming an accomplished fact; a result which, while it adds materially to the responsibilities of our Empire, will greatly strengthen the basis of our friendship with foreign countries.

"It is our earnest wish that our subjects, whose devoted loyalty in the discharge of their duties is conspicuous, should enter earnestly into our sentiments in this matter and, in compliance with the great policy of opening the country, should all unite with one

heart to associate cordially with the peoples from afar, thus maintaining the character of the nation and enhancing the prestige of the Empire.

"In view of the responsibilities that devolve upon us in giving effect to the new treaties, it is our will that our ministers of state, acting on our behalf, should instruct our officials of all classes to observe the utmost circumspection in the management of affairs, to the end that subjects and strangers alike may enjoy equal privileges and advantages and that, every source of dissatisfaction being avoided, relations of peace and amity with all nations may be strengthened and consolidated in perpetuity" (United States Foreign Relations, 1899, p. 469).

Of the operation of the new treaties there has been the highest commendation. President McKinley, in his message of December 5, 1899, said,

"The treaty of commerce and navigation between the United States and Japan on November 22, 1894, took effect in accordance with the terms of its XIXth Article on the 17th of July last, simultaneously with the enforcement of like treaties with the other powers, except France, whose convention did not go into operation until August 4, the United States being, however, granted up to that date all the privileges and rights accorded to French citizens under the old French treaty. By this notable conventional reform Japan's position as a fully independent sovereign power is assured, control being gained of taxation, customs revenues, judicial administration, coasting trade, and all other domestic functions of government, and foreign extra-territorial rights being renounced.

"Comprehensive codes of civil and criminal procedure according to western methods, public instruction, patents and copyrights, municipal administration, including jurisdiction over the former foreign settlements, customs tariffs and procedure, public health, and other administrative measures have been proclaimed. The working of the new system has given rise to no material complaints on the part of the American citizens or interests, a circumstance which attests the ripe consideration with which the change has been prepared" (United States Foreign Relations, 1899, p. XXIV).

When early in 1902 there was announced an agreement cementing an alliance between Great Britain, hitherto proud of her traditional "splendid isolation," and Japan only recently admitted to the international circle, many of those best informed upon international relations were amazed. Time has seemed to show the wisdom of the British policy, but most significant and hopeful, for those who look forward to the days when peace shall prevail, is this agreement as

an evidence that in this newer age the family of nations will be based not upon the independence but upon the interdependence of its members.

The act of admission of Japan to the family of nations marks a stage in the development of the idea of international society. The membership in the family of nations is no longer confined to European nations or to nations possessing European civilization or to states bound closely with the European system, but regardless of historical origins, religious preferences, or narrow views of international policies is extended to a state able to maintain an efficient and stable political organization. Thus, not as the result of war, not by the sundering of political relations which had bound colony to mother country, not as the compromise thrown to appease international jealousy, nor even as a matter of political expediency, was the Empire of Japan admitted to the international circle, but as the recognition that a state separated far from western nations in latitude, language, and customs had won its place by the development of a worthy civilization as an equal among equals in the family of nations.

GEOGRAPHICAL ENVIRONMENT AND JAPANESE CHARACTER

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Individuals may determine the details of history, but its great movements depend upon the character of races. In no country is this truer than in Japan. She has not risen to the position of a world-power through the exertions of any single individual, but because her people possess a character comparable to that of the nations of Europe. In order to understand Japan's history and the present position of the island empire it is necessary to investigate the causes which have produced a character different from that of any other Asiatic nation. The problem is essentially biological and must be treated like other biological problems. External influences such as the Buddhist religion, Chinese ideals in art, literature and social life, European methods in commerce, war and government are doubtless highly important, but back of them and long antedating them, lie the mental traits which have made the Japanese able so quickly and effectively to assimilate and improve upon foreign ideas. These mental traits cannot be dismissed merely as unexplained racial characteristics. They must have arisen in accordance with the fixed laws of nature; and only by discovering these laws can the Japanese or any other race hope to accelerate the development of good qualities and to eliminate those that are detrimental.

From the biological, that is the evolutionary point of view, only three theories seem to offer any adequate explanation of the origin of racial characteristics. In the first place such characteristics may have arisen from spontaneous variations, secondly from the intermixture of races, and thirdly from the stimulation and selective action of geographic environment.

The first theory, that of spontaneous variations, finds frequent expression in biological writings. According to it offspring vary from parents for no assignable causes, but simply because of some innate, organic characteristic. In certain species or at certain periods in the history of each species such variations become especially abundant and new varieties or even new species arise. For instance, at the present time the experiments of DeVries and others show that the evening primrose is highly variable and is constantly giving off sports. It is a matter of every-day observation that variations of this kind occur in the human race. Sons differ from fathers and daughters from mothers. Under ordinary circumstances, where the environment remains constant, such variations tend to counteract one another and thus are eliminated in the course of a few generations. It is possible, nevertheless, that they sometimes keep on in a definite direction without reference to whether the environment is favorable or unfavorable. Thus a new species may perhaps be evolved without the aid of external conditions. How frequently this has taken place, or how important it may be, we cannot tell, for we are dealing here with inferences and not with facts of actual observation. On the other hand we know positively that after variations have once arisen environment picks out certain ones for preservation. No one can question that, other things being equal, a Korean tiger which is not sensitive to dampness or low temperature is more likely to be strong and to reproduce his kind than is one which is forced to seek retreat in a warm cave whenever heavy rain falls or the temperature is low. Similarly one of the chief reasons why the domestic sheep is among the most gregarious and timorous of animals is that for ages the adventurous individuals who were prone to stray from the flock have been killed by wild animals and have left no progeny. Hence, even though variations in a species may arise from some unknown, internal cause, their preservation is almost entirely a matter of environment. Moreover it is quite possible that the supposed spontaneous variations are due to some external cause. For example, in the case of the primrose with its abnormally high variability,

there is no evidence, so far as our present knowledge goes, that the changes may not be instigated by external stimuli such as peculiar conditions of sunshine, temperature or barometric pressure at critical times in the development of the seed. Or again minute changes in the chemical composition of the sap, as MacDougal has shown, may produce revolutionary changes in the succeeding generation. So commonplace an accident as the dying of a worm among the roots at a critical time may, for all that we know, alter the composition of the sap sufficiently to cause occasional ovules to develop into seeds and plants possessing qualities notably different from those of the parents. Hence even in their origin the so-called spontaneous variations of living beings may be the result of environment, and their preservation is certainly such a result.

Coming now to the second theory, the vast majority of students agree that the immense importance and far-reaching results of the intermixture of races cannot be gainsaid. In general, according to the observations of biologists, the interbreeding of diverse types produces two results. In the first place a race different from either of its ancestors is the immediate and obvious product. In the second place, the individuals of the new race tend to vary widely from the mean. In the case of animals we notice great variations in size, speed, and other physical attributes. In the case of man, since the brain is his most sensitive as well as most important organ, the most notable variations are mental; and a mixed race appears to be characterized not only by individuals of uncommon intellectual brilliancy, but also by an undue proportion of feeble-minded. In spite of the importance of the intermixture of races, however, there are certain facts which tend to show that its importance is much reduced by the operation of environment: In the first place hybridization between closely allied races such as the English and Germans cannot be expected to produce any very striking results since the original characteristics of the two races are closely similar. The most marked effects of crossing are found where diverse races intermingle, but here another factor steps in. Not only are hybrids

relatively infertile, but also they tend to be weak in other respects, both physically and morally. Hence they die out rapidly, as the Eurasians, the progeny of European fathers and Asiatic mothers, are doing in India. This principle would seem to apply directly to the Japanese. Various Mongoloid elements might well mingle and produce an enduring race just as the races of Europe appear to be able to mix freely. When it comes to the possibility of an important infusion of Malay blood, or still more of an Aryan admixture, the general principles of biology are distinctly counter to the probability that the progeny of these invaders of highly diverse races would persist for any great length of time.

The second fact which militates against the theory that inter-mixture of races is the primary factor in the present character of the Japanese depends upon another biological principle. When an alien race invades a new habitat there is not one chance in a hundred that its adaptation to that particular environment will be equal to the adaptation of the original race. In rare cases the newcomers may be better adapted; usually they are at a disadvantage. How important this matter of adaptation is may be judged from the way in which the negro race tends to die off in our northern States in spite of constant immigration from the south. In the same way Scandinavians as a race cannot thrive in the drier, more sunny parts of America. They may succeed for a while, but statistics show that they tend to contract various diseases, especially of the nerves and skin. In the rainy regions on the coast of Oregon and Washington, on the contrary, where the environment resembles that of Scandinavia, they prosper greatly, both in body and estate. In the case of a mixture of races not only the invaders themselves, as a general rule, but also the hybrids which tend toward the type of the newcomers, are distinctly at a disadvantage. So long as they remain a ruling class with unusual opportunities to protect and care for themselves, they may persist, but gradual mixture with other elements of the population is bound to take place, and the type less adapted to the country slowly disappears. It was thus apparently with the energetic fair-haired invaders who are supposed to

have come into Greece and Italy in ancient days from the north. For a while they seem to have been the dominating element and to have been one of the chief causes of the great achievements of the early Greeks and Romans. Today, however, their inability to withstand the dry climate and the ravages of malaria has almost eliminated them in favor of the present less energetic brunette races. In Japan the same process of selection must have gone on during the long period since the supposed Malays or Aryans reached the islands. Possibly the differences of feature and physique which are often said to exist between the upper and lower classes in Japan may preserve the record of an admixture of races ages long ago, but this does not explain why the Japanese, not only of one class but of all, are characterized by a degree of mental alertness much in excess of that of most of the people of Asia including the Chinese.

We come now to the third and last of the reasons for thinking that intermixture of races is not the chief cause of Japan's present advanced position. The variability of mixed races, whether among plants, animals, or man, is greatest immediately after the two parent types come together. Thereafter, not only does the new hybrid race tend, as we have just seen, to revert toward the type best fitted to the environment, but there is a constant tendency for the offspring to vary less and less from the ultimate type which gradually becomes established as the standard. Hence in any race such as the Japanese exceptional mental brilliancy, so far as it is due to racial intermixture, is more frequent immediately after the amalgamation of the races. The Japanese are generally conceded to be remarkable for a high general average of mental development rather than for individuals of exceptional brilliancy. This is what would be expected. However great the amount of mixture of races may have been in Japan, most of it occurred two thousand or more years ago, and it was practically completed twelve hundred years ago. Since then forty generations have elapsed, a length of time sufficient to allow much progress toward the extinction of extreme variability and its accompanying intellectual brilliancy, and also toward approxima-

tion to the type normal to the country. Yet the Japanese show no indications of being less alert now than formerly. It must be borne in mind that the tendency to eliminate characteristics incompatible with physical surroundings is extremely strong. Every one knows how plants which have been produced by careful cross-breeding quickly return to the original type when left to themselves. Similarly among animals the best varieties of cattle or horses quickly revert to a primitive type when allowed to run wild for a few generations. Inasmuch, then, as the Japanese have been without the infusion of new blood for a long time, it would seem from the point of view of the biologist and evolutionist that the race, no matter whether it is much or little mixed, has had a good opportunity to approximate to the type demanded by Japanese environment.

The fact that the Japanese or any other race is mixed and is at the same time brilliant does not by any means prove that the brilliancy is due to the mixture. The Koreans appear to be as mixed as the Japanese; the Chinese of the north with their admixture of Tartar and Manchu blood are more mixed; the Persians and the people of northern India contain as many elements as the Chinese and perhaps more; and probably no race under Heaven is so diverse in its origin as the so-called Turk with his infusion of Tartar, Kurdish, Armenian, Greek and Circasian blood; yet these mixed peoples do not stand particularly high in civilization. Against them may be put the English, Germans, Russians and Americans, all of whom are much mixed; but only the American is as mixed as the Turk. In the case of these last two the mixture has taken place comparatively recently and hence ought now to be producing its maximum effect. Yet the results in America and in Turkey are as diverse as can well be imagined. The Turkish mind is sluggish, while the American mind, whatever its other faults, can certainly not be accused of lack of alertness.

We have seen that whether variations in a species arise from spontaneous variations or from the mixture of races their preservation and the consequent evolution of new types is largely, although indirectly a matter of environment.

Following still the same line of thought, let us examine the position of biologists as to the direct action of environment upon evolution, the third of the theories advanced in explanations of the origin of races. Darwin and his immediate successors thought that physical circumstances were competent directly to stimulate organic changes which would adapt the individual to its peculiar circumstances. Later this view was disproved and the pendulum swung far into the opposite extreme. Now, as usual, opinion is settling to a compromise. No one doubts the importance of the influence of physical environment, especially climate, in weeding out certain characteristics and encouraging others. The horses of Arabia are slender, fleet and able to endure the lack of water because animals not possessing these traits have gradually been killed off by the harsh conditions of the desert. The horses of the Shetland Islands, on the contrary, are short, stout and hairy because this particular type does not suffer injury from the cool damp climate. In this case we have no reason to suppose that the effect of climate extends beyond the selection of the type best fitted for preservation. The colts that were not slender and fleet died in the desert and those that were not plump and hairy died in the islands. Beyond this, however, lies a deeper question. Can a change of environment induce a direct change in bodily form and functions? And if so, does that change become permanently heritable? Recent research seems to answer these questions in the affirmative. Exact observations, indeed, are not numerous, but some of them are convincing, at least so far as plants and animals are concerned.

One of the best examples of a permanent and heritable change due to changed climatic environment is found in a species of *Capsella* or shepherd's purse growing in Asia Minor. In the relatively moist lowlands close to the coast the plant has broad leaves, whitish flowers and stems 10 or 12 inches high. A highway leads from these regions to a plateau at an altitude of 6000 feet or more. Up this the seeds of the plant were apparently long ago carried by man and his animals; and now in the elevated habitat the plant has taken on certain alpine characteristics, including elongated roots, xerophitic

leaves, stems only one or two inches high, reddish flowers and a general increase of hairiness throughout the entire plant. When seeds are taken from the lowland and planted in the upland, as Zedbauer has found, the first generation of young plants possesses all of these new qualities. This is not surprising, for it is a matter of common observation that plants vary greatly according to the soil and still more the climatic conditions in which they are placed. The important point appears when the seeds of the plants which have been long in the upland environment are taken to other places, such as Vienna, where the climate is not at all alpine. There the new plants continue to show the characteristics of the upland environment. Slight changes indeed occur; the stems become an inch or so longer; the roots change to an equal extent; but the flowers and leaves retain practically all of the alpine characteristics. When the plants were cultivated for four successive generations in Vienna no further change was apparent. In this case therefore, it seems impossible to avoid the conclusion that a change of climate induced pronouncedly new characteristics which another change of climate was not able to eradicate. That more such changes have not been observed seems to be due chiefly to lack of accurate observations upon species which have long been subject to a new environment.

Among animals similar phenomena have been observed. For instance Sumner found that mice reared in a warm room differ considerably from those reared in a cold room in the mean length of the tail, foot, and ear; and these differences were transmitted to the next generation. These facts have an additional importance because the differences were exactly those which distinguish northern and southern races of many animals. Further examples of a similar kind might be given, but enough has been said to point out the general trend of some of the most interesting of recent biological experiments. Among man it is probable that similar results follow upon changes of environment. For instance statistics show that the descendants of English colonists in Australia average taller than the English in general, and that they are slighter in proportion to their height, a difference

closely analogous to that between the slender desert horses of Arabia and the plump ponies of Shetland. In America still more surprising results have been found. Boas has recently made measurements upon the American-born children of Jews from central Russia and Italians from Sicily. In the case of the Italians, who are long-headed, the children appear to be shorter-headed than their parents, while among the Jews, who are notably broad-headed, the children have longer heads than their parents. In other words, under the changed environment both alien types seem to take on new characteristics and to approach a type normal to the new environment. The results are so at variance with all the established conceptions of ethnologists that they have been received with much scepticism. Nevertheless there is no more reason for doubting that flowers can take on a pink tint in alpine surroundings, or that mice can have longer tails in hot countries than in cold, than for doubting that the bodily form of the human race can change. And if the bodily form can change, there is equally great probability that the mental character can alter.

Before leaving the subject of the evolution of new characteristics and new races by means of changes in physical environment, it may be well to sum up the matter in accordance with the conclusions of MacDougal in an article upon "Organic Response," published in the *American Naturalist* for January, 1911. It seems to be proved that morphological and physiological changes in both plants and animals can be occasioned by changes in geographical environment. So far as outward manifestations of form are concerned these changes take place quickly; that is, they appear in the first generation which grows up in the new environment, and do not vary greatly thereafter. Among animals the change may be somewhat slower, and it is also possible that internal variations in functions may take more than one generation for adjustment to the new conditions. The changes whether in form or function are not necessarily useful. They may indeed be distinctly injurious and may lead to the extinction of the species. Changes of the kinds here considered have been proved to be transmissible from parents to off-

spring, and herein lies the most important feature of the whole matter. It appears, however, that the new environment must have an opportunity to work upon the species for several or perhaps many generations before the new characteristics become permanently heritable and the transplanted forms can be considered as capable of forming a new race.

In this discussion of biological principles we seem to have wandered far from the Japanese, but this is by no means the case. In so far as man is the crowning product of biological evolution he must be subject to the same laws as are plants and animals. So far as physiological processes are concerned we accept this conclusion absolutely. No intelligent person hesitates to allow the vaccine of a cow to be placed on his arm and to spread through his blood. We believe that the experiments made upon guinea pigs have a direct bearing upon problems of human physiology: and we talk calmly of the possibility of grafting the eye of a rabbit into the socket of a human being. In all these things we proclaim in the most positive fashion our faith that the biological laws governing animals and man are the same. When it comes to the brain we acknowledge the same thing, although not quite so readily. Doubtless the human brain has capacities far beyond those of any other terrestrial creature, but even when we make this claim, we talk to a dog and are convinced that he remembers certain words and attaches to them the meaning that we do.

If we accept the conclusions set forth above we are led to the following conclusion in regard to the Japanese. The mental alertness of the Japanese, the quality wherein they differ from most of the rest of Asia and approach most nearly to the people of Europe and of North America north of Mexico, must have arisen from one of the three causes mentioned at the beginning of this paper, that is from spontaneous variations, from the mixture of races, or from the direct action of geographical and especially climatic environment; but however it may have arisen, its preservation is owing to the presence of favorable geographic environment. I know that this statement is sweeping, but it should be understood

that I do not advance it as something already proved but merely as the tentative conclusion to which we are led if we adopt the hypothesis that man's brain as well as his body is subject to the laws of biological evolution, and if, in addition, we accept some of the latest, but as yet not universally accepted biological conclusions.

With the understanding then that we are merely testing an hypothesis and not pretending to deal with proved facts, let us see whether there are any features of the geographic environment of Japan which lend support to our theory. The most important geographical characteristics of Japan are first its insular character and its position off the populous east coast of Asia; second, its mountainous topography and limited area of arable land; and third, its moist, variable climate. A score of other minor factors might be added, but I pass them by for lack of time.

The insularity of Japan can here be discussed but briefly. Many authors have dwelt upon it, and its importance is universally recognized. Because of their constant and intimate contact with the sea the Japanese are skillful sailors, and in the future are likely to play a prominent rôle in the world's naval history. Moreover the surrounding seas render Japan comparatively safe from hostile attack, and thus free it from the necessity of constant watchfulness; and great armies like those of France, Germany, and Russia are unnecessary. The seas have thus done for Japan essentially what they have done for England, save that Japan, coming late into the comity of nations, has not been able to secure vast tracts of unoccupied colonial territory. Important as this is, I believe that there is another respect in which the service of the embracing ocean to Japan has been even greater. However the energetic quality of the Japanese mind may have originated, there can be little doubt that its preservation has been facilitated by the separation of the island from the mainland. China has suffered again and again from being overrun in the northern parts by Tartars of various tribes and by Manchus or other people from the unproductive lands of the north and west. Korea in the same way has been subject to a constant influx of Chinese

while in the other countries of Asia from Turkey to India the coming in of alien races has been on so large a scale as to be the dominant element in their history. Such migrations have produced two noteworthy effects. In the first place the wars and misery attendant upon them have often not merely checked the progress of civilization for long periods, but have actually caused retrogression as in Persia. In the second place, where no such evil results have followed, there has nevertheless often been a great change in the direction of progress, a fact well illustrated by the consequences of the great Teutonic migrations in Europe. Suppose that Japan had been exposed for two thousand years to the unchecked invasion of the races from the neighboring parts of Asia. What would have been the result? Her people today would not be the race that we now know, but a composite mixture, probably more akin to the Chinese than to the present Japanese. The chances are that, unless physical environment is responsible for character, the race would possess the relatively inert, and highly conservative qualities of the continentals rather than the alertness of the islanders. By shielding the Japanese ever since the time when their present characteristics first became evident the insularity of the country has been of the highest service. It has allowed essential traits to be preserved unmixed and to develop until now they are a permanent acquisition. The course of history seems to show that races develop marked and peculiar characteristics and bring them to perfection and fruition only in relative seclusion where they are free to evolve their own ideas and character without constant hindrances from without. It was so with the early Greeks: the Hebrews of Judea, to whose later dissemination we owe practically all that the Jews have contributed to history, dwelt in a seclusion sharply in contrast with the cosmopolitan life of their kinsmen in Samaria and the rest of Palestine, and were preserved for century after century by the inaccessible character of their plateau: and the English have been able to make so marked an impression upon history in large measure because of their long isolation in their tight little island. Thus it has been with Japan: Chinese have come into the

country and so have Koreans, especially in the period from the fourth to the seventh centuries, but never in such numbers as seriously to alter the racial composition of the people of the islands. To be sure the Japanese adopted Chinese methods in the seventh century as they have adopted those of Europe in the nineteenth, but in neither case did this mean an appreciable alteration in race, or a change in fundamental character. Thus for two thousand years the insularity of the country has permitted it to pursue its way almost without respect to the rest of the world; the original racial characteristics which were in harmony with physical environment have been preserved and fostered, while others have been eliminated by the inexorable process of natural selection, until today the Japanese as a people are probably adapted to their environment more perfectly than is any other leading race.

The topography of Japan is almost if not quite as important as its insularity. Used in the broad sense this includes not only the relief of the mountains, plains and valleys, but also the character of the coasts and their indentations, and a large number of other features. From among the many qualities of the Japanese race which have been preserved and fostered by the conditions of physiographic environment constant and almost tireless industry stands out as one of the most widespread. By reason of the highly mountainous character of the country only from one-sixth to one-eighth of its area is now considered fit for cultivation. A thousand years ago a far smaller area appeared capable of utilization. When the growing number of the Japanese race at some early date seemed to threaten over-population several courses were open to the people, although they themselves were quite unconscious of the matter. One possibility was emigration, but this seems to have been resorted to very rarely because, until the advent of modern means of communication, the insularity of the country was as effective in keeping people in as in keeping others out. Another possibility open to the increasing numbers of the Japanese was the method or lack of method characteristic of India. There the population goes on increasing at a rapid rate until famine, pesti-

lence, or war arises and sweeps off the surplus swarm of human beings like flies in autumn. Before the coming of the English, a hundred famines and pestilences never, so far as we can tell, stirred the native population to any new exertions or to the invention of new methods. A condition of mental apathy seems to have prevented or stifled all initiative. In Japan, as also in China, quite a different mental attitude prevailed, and a third and highly rational method was unconsciously adopted in order to meet the dangers of over-population. As the means of supporting life decreased relatively to the number of people, industry and economy increased. Among the people of India few or none seem to have possessed the mental qualities which incited them to struggle against the ills of increasing poverty and scarcity of food, or at least few struggled with success. In China and Japan the number who thus struggled was large, and their success was great. Thus the Chinese and Japanese acquired the admirable qualities of industry and economy or rather those members of the community who possessed them were able to rear strong healthy children who inherited the parental tendencies while the children of the idle and extravagant grew up weak in body and were gradually eliminated.

Thus far the conditions of Japan and China appear to be alike. Now, however, we come to the influence of topography which together with climate seems to have been against the Chinese. The people of that sturdy race, in spite of their hard work and sparing lives have never been able to overcome the great natural disasters to which their country is subject. Throughout a large portion of China the winters are practically rainless and the crops depend upon the monsoon rains which normally begin at some time from April to June according to the latitude. Often the rains are delayed so that the crops of the great body of farmers who do not depend upon irrigation are ruined. Then when the rains finally come they fall with extreme violence, just as they do with us after a long drought, but even more severely because of the height of the mountains which border China on the west. The steepness of the mountains sheds the water at once causing enormous floods of a magnitude

which it is hard for us to understand. When the waters reach the lowlands another physiographic feature, the vast level expanse of plain, causes the rivers to spread over thousands of square miles as has happened in recent years in both the Yangtze and Hoangho basins. The crops of millions of farmers who dwell in the great flat plains and use the water of the rivers for irrigation are thus ruined. The inevitable consequence of the combined droughts and floods is famine involving tens of millions of people. This not only works terrible havoc in the districts immediately affected, but bears severely upon all the surrounding areas. Hundreds of thousands of people, homeless and penniless for the nonce, wander hither and thither over the face of the land, begging where they can, stealing and plundering when begging fails to afford a living. The result is that initiative and individual progressiveness are discouraged. A man's ability in improving his conditions has little to do with the chances which he runs of falling into trouble. No one man, nor even a whole village, however energetic it may be, can do much to avert a famine which directly affects 20,000,000 people. Thus there is very little selective action. The man who is industrious is assuredly better off than his neighbor in ordinary years, but the man of a progressive turn of mind, the one who introduces improvement and by long labor carries them to fruition is no better off than his neighbor when the time of distress arrives. If the rain does not fall to replenish the brooks no amount of ditching and terracing will furnish the children with bread; and if hordes of starving refugees pour into a region, they are more apt to rob the prosperous than the poverty-stricken. Thus the very size of the Chinese mountains, rivers and plains, and the vastness of the disasters to which the land is subject have been a factor in promoting the inertia which is so prominent a trait of Chinese character, and which is the danger of every race unless there is some strong means of counteracting it.

In Japan conditions are quite different. Industry and economy are at a premium just as in China, but energy in reclaiming new land or in adopting new methods is also at a premium. Japan is of course subject to great disasters

in the shape of famine, flood, fire, and storm, but these are never on the Chinese scale. The form of the land and its position prevent this. The rivers are all small and the area that can be flooded by any one of them is strictly limited. Similarly, disastrous droughts occur, but are never so devastating as in China. Japan, by reason of its mountains and of its position off the coast gets heavy rains, and these may be much diminished in dry years, but never so that the crops are absolutely ruined. There is never that completeness of failure which is so sad in China. Trouble and distress may come, but they are always accompanied by a ray of hope. A man who reclaims an acre of land on the side of the mountain knows that even in the worst years he will reap a crop of some sort from it. Occasionally, during past days of misrule, he may have suffered loss from the people of a neighboring district who were wandering abroad by reason of distress at home, but this fear does not hang over him with a tithe as much force as in China. In a word, not only do the qualities of industry and economy reap as great a reward in Japan as in China, but because of the small scale of the country and its topographic diversity energy and initiative are fostered, and the children of alert-minded parents have a better start than those who are sluggish.

I have reserved climate, the most important of geographic factors until the last. Already, to be sure we have been led into the discussion of the subject in connection with floods and droughts. Beyond this, however, lies a more interesting and more debatable field of research. Buckle has been laughed at and discredited because of his sweeping generalizations in respect to the influence of climate upon history and character. Doubtless he made absurd blunders, as every man with a great idea is bound to do. Yet if he were alive today and could weigh the new evidence which is continually being brought to light, I believe that his main contention would still seem to him true, and in the end I think it will be accepted by the world as a whole. In a nutshell his theory was that physical environment determines the character and achievements of all the races of the world, and that climate is the most important of all the elements of

physical environment. Such a theory, whether right or wrong, well deserves consideration. To dismiss it after the fashion of some writers, as a "blanket theory" unworthy of further study is as unscientific as to accept it without proof. In the remainder of this article I propose to present two lines of evidence which seem to show that the climatic conditions of a country have far more to do with the mental condition of the inhabitants than is generally recognized. This is far from meaning that climate is the only factor. No one would claim for a moment that any climatic conditions, no matter how extreme, could overcome the influence of the inheritance derived from thousands of generations of ancestors. The most that is assumed in the present hypothesis is that climatic conditions can and do slightly modify inherited characteristics, just as we know to be the case in plants and animals, and that in course of time the conditions of any particular environment will pick out such variations either for preservation or extinction.

The general relation of climate to the energy and ability of races is too well recognized to require much consideration. Of the 50,000,000 square miles of the earth's surface which consist of land lying outside the limits of the polar circles approximately half lies within 30 degrees of the equator. Yet, as Ireland has pointed out, from the races which are indigenous to this vast area or which have dwelt in it long enough to have been much modified by it there has never arisen any man except Mohammed who has the least claim to a place among the world's leaders. Gautama, the founder of Buddhism, although a native of India, was born and reared among the Himalayas almost exactly 30 degrees north of the equator. The great men of ancient Egypt, Ramses and his countrymen, lived for the most part in the Nile delta, which lies north of 30 degrees. Even Thebes, at the southernmost limit of the important portion of ancient Egypt lies only 4 degrees farther south. Similarly in America, Diaz, the only Latin-American with a world-wide reputation is in reality a product of Spain, not of Mexico.

Clear as the relation of climate and human achievement may be when the temperate and equatorial regions are

compared, it becomes much more complex when comparisons are instituted between the various countries of the temperate zone. Let us limit ourselves to the northern hemisphere, since the amount of land in the southern is small and the people there are largely recent immigrants. We may divide the north temperate zone into two belts, one extending from latitude 30 to 45 and the other from 45 degrees to the Arctic circle. In the more southern of the two belts we find countries occupying most diverse positions in the scale of civilization. On one side of the Pacific stands our own country in the forefront of progress, while on the other Japan faces us on equal terms and in some respects beating us at our own game. Half way back to America as one continues around the globe, lies Italy, one of the world's great powers, but noteworthy for the marked difference between the energetic, capable people of the northern parts and the unstable, mercurial inhabitants of the south around Naples and in Sicily.

None of the other countries in the belt between 30 degrees and 45 degrees have any claim to a place among the world's leaders. Spain, Greece, and Turkey are second rate powers whose limited modern achievements suffer sadly by comparison with the past. Servia, Bulgaria, and Roumania deserve praise for what they are accomplishing, but in comparison with countries of similar size such as Switzerland, Belgium or Holland, they are far below the first rank. From European Turkey and the vicinity of the Aegean Sea southeastward the condition of the Turkish Empire becomes steadily more hopeless, not so much because of more war and misrule than in the Balkans but because the people are more apathetic. Persia, which lies for the most part between latitudes 30 and 40 resembles Turkey very closely in this respect and in many others, but its general condition is decidedly lower. Morocco and Tripoli are, if anything, worse off than Persia, and this low level is maintained in Afghanistan and Tibet. I omit Algiers, Tunis, and Egypt, because their present prosperity is due entirely to France and England. Finally we come to China where conditions again improve over those in Central Asia, and are in many

respects about as advanced as in Turkey. In the face of such a congeries of nations it is manifest that latitude and mean temperature have practically nothing to do with a country's position in the scale of civilization. The countries in the belt under consideration stand decidedly higher than those of equatorial regions; and in this we can probably see the influence of lower temperature, and of greater variations from the mean temperature. The constant recurrence of winter with the accompanying necessity for forethought and industry in order to have means of subsistence was probably one of the chief factors in originally advancing the temperate zone faster than the tropics.

Turning now to the most northerly belt of nations we find that on the whole they stand much higher than those to the south of them, but here, too, there are great divergencies. Canada, Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, the Scandinavian countries, Germany, Switzerland and Austria all stand in the front rank. So, also, does Russia in many respects. Finland, the Baltic provinces, and the northwestern part of the country in general doubtless deserve a position well up among the nations. Southeastward, however, toward the Caspian Sea and in the Asiatic provinces of Turkestan there is a great falling off. The indigenous inhabitants of those regions occupy a position not far removed from that which prevails in the better parts of Turkey. East of the Urals in Siberia a similar phenomenon prevails. The western part of the country is fairly progressive and is filling up with Russian colonists after the fashion of the western plains of the United States and Canada. In the vast eastern half stagnation prevails. The native races are inert and unprogressive, Russian influence is able to penetrate but slowly, and we have no assurance that much progress is ever to be possible.

The attempt to find some common factor or factors which should explain the predominance of certain nations and the differences between nations living as close to one another as Japan and China or Austria and Turkey has hitherto met with little success. The facts in regard to Japan seem to make it evident that these differences are not a matter of

religion: only by a series of unproved though interesting hypotheses can they be ascribed to the presence of any particular race: and conditions of temperature and rainfall, or the succession of the seasons,—that is the features of climate, as ordinarily understood,—furnish equally unsatisfactory explanations. A few writers have thought that one of the chief factors in explaining racial differences might perhaps be found in the degree of variability of the climate in the respective countries. They point to the fact that in general mankind is most progressive in places where there is not only a marked difference between summer and winter, but also where there are frequent variations from day to day. The writer has pointed out that one reason for the difference between the sluggish character of the people of western and central Asia and of countries like the United States may be the number of storms. All through the summer months in large portions of Asia rain is practically unknown; and even in the autumn, storms come so slowly that there is no sudden change. In the United States the farmer and everyone whose work is out of doors is forced to be constantly on the watch to guard against the exigencies of the weather. If the hay is down the farmer must be ready to work furiously in order to get it in before a threatened storm arrives: in the fall the prospect of a frost often urges him to work at a rate which he would never think of otherwise. Thus for generations, not only in America, but in western Europe where conditions are similar, the farmers or other out-of-door workers who were not alert and were not so constituted that they could and would make strenuous exertions, have been at a great disadvantage. They have tended to grow poorer and poorer and gradually to sink into the lower stratum of society where the children are ill-nourished and die for the most part before reaching maturity. In the almost stormless lands of Asia, on the contrary, no such stimulation and selection take place. The harvest is finished during a period when the farmer is practically certain that no storms will come up to injure it. In the fall the cold weather approaches slowly and gradually, and there are long warnings before the breaking of the first harmful storms. Hence the

man who works deliberately is quite as well off as the one who is alert and active.

In spite of hypotheses like the one just given, the relation of changes in the weather to the advancement of civilization has till now been a hazy matter. It remained for Professor C. J. Kullmer of Syracuse University to formulate a brilliant hypothesis which at a single stroke opens a place for hundreds

of hitherto unrelated facts. The reasonable nature of the hypothesis is so obvious when once pointed out, that it scarcely seems credible that the world should have so long been blind to it. The accompanying figure shows a map of the northern hemisphere with the north pole in the center. Upon it has been plotted the frequency of cyclonic storms. The term cyclonic storm in the vocabulary of the meteorologist does not mean something severe like a tornado, but

merely the ordinary type of storm prevalent in the United States and Europe. The storm consists essentially of an area of low pressure which may be a thousand miles in diameter, and which moves across the country with a general easterly trend. Winds from all sides blow obliquely toward the center. On the east side, or in front of such a storm east winds prevail, while behind it the movement of the air is from the west. In the central parts of the cyclonic area the air is rising because of the low pressure, clouds are formed, and rain falls. Storms of this type, as everyone knows, are our main source of rainfall throughout the year. In other parts of the world, for instance in the tropics or in the monsoon regions of northern India and most of China the rainfall does not come from cyclonic storms but from brief showers often accompanied by thunder, but not characterised by large areas of low pressure. During the course of a thunder-shower or of the other showers which produce rain in such regions the barometer may fluctuate rapidly for a few hours, but in general it remains steady.

The cyclonic storms of temperate regions move in well-defined tracks which are observed and mapped by the various weather bureaus. From the data thus furnished it is a simple matter to insert on a map the average number of storms whose centers each year pass through a given area. In the present case the unit is a rectangle five degrees long on each side. The number ten on the map means that on an average, during the years for which the data have been examined by Dunwoody, the centers of ten storms passed over all points on the line, while the edges of many more storms passed that way. Inside the line the number of storms increases, while outside the number decreases.

Examination of the map, as Kullmer points out, shows at once that the area included within the line of ten storms embraces all the leading countries of the world. North America possesses the area of maximum storm frequency with its center in southern Canada, while the region of abundant storminess extends over all of the United States except the far south and southwest. In Europe the chief countries all come within the line of ten storms, Great Britain, France,

the Netherlands, the Scandinavian countries, Switzerland, Germany, Austria, Italy except for the southern part, and finally the northern and western portions of Russia. Most significant of all, Japan, the one country of Asia which rises to the European level of achievement, is the only Asiatic country subject to frequent cyclonic storms.

The remarkable case of Japan has been seized upon by Kullmer as the strongest possible reason for believing that the storm track hypothesis offers an adequate explanation of the peculiar distribution of intellectual attainments among the nations. It may be that the Chinese, as many authorities hold, are possessed of as great mental ability as the Japanese or any other race. Kullmer's hypothesis does not attempt to settle the matter. It merely postulates that the occurrence of storms is a mental stimulant, and that this stimulant does not now apply to China. Those who have most faith in the Chinese often say that that race is the equal of any in the world, but they are forced to add that this is not now apparent because the Chinese have not yet waked up. Perhaps contact with other races will wake them up, but of this we are not sure. Once they were awake, two thousand years ago. That was when the Greeks were awake and the Jews and other people of the ancient empires. In those days, apparently, storms were more frequent than now in the countries which have gone to sleep. I cannot here go into the matter of changes of climate, but years of work in Asia and recent investigations of ruins and lakes and of the rate of growth of ancient trees in America have convinced me that pronounced changes of climate have taken place both in the eastern and western hemispheres. The changes thus inferred are of exactly the kind which would increase the storminess of the parts of the world where civilization has decayed.

An hypothesis such as this of the relation of the storm track to civilization needs severe testing. Kullmer has begun to test it by comparing bank deposits and other evidences of thrift and energy in various parts of America, on the one hand, with the number of storms on the other hand. Another method lies in measuring the direct effect of cyclonic

storms. As yet only a beginning has been made along this line. Lehmann in Copenhagen made measurements of the strength of three individuals for over a year and reached some interesting results. He found that during the half year from the end of November to May, as he puts it, or from October to May, as his curves show, muscular strength increases with a rising barometer and decreases when the barometer falls. During the other half of the year he detected no direct relation, possibly because his observations were interrupted by a journey, possibly because of the method used in averaging the work, and possibly because there is no direct relation at that time. An examination of his curves, however, shows frequent cases of a direct relationship at all seasons. The fact probably is, that the relation exists at all times, but in the summer and autumn when barometric changes are less marked than in winter and spring, changes in the strength of human beings because of that cause are masked by other variations due to temperature and the incidental matters of occupation and health which are continually influencing mankind. Strangely enough Lehmann's work seems to show conclusively that although the small barometric changes connected with cyclonic storms produce a direct effect upon the strength of the human body, large changes such as those involved in a change of residence from sea level to an altitude of two or three thousand feet produce no corresponding effect. The bodily functions become adjusted so quickly, especially in the case of an ascent that no disarrangement or diminution of strength occurs unless the altitude becomes sufficient to interfere with breathing. Lehmann made a short series of tests to determine the relation of mental as well as physical activity to the barometer. His methods were not accurate enough to give positive results but he concluded that in general the condition of the mind varies with that of the body, and hence that the brain is stimulated by a rise of pressure.

I have had the good fortune to be able to test this matter further and by means more accurate than those employed by Lehmann. Professor J. McK. Cattell of Columbia University made a series of tests upon three children daily

for an entire year, and thereafter weekly for another year. Each child wrote out on the typewriter the first stanza of Spenser's "Faerie Queen" each day, and then copied a new page from the same poem. The length of time for each operation and the number of errors in copying the stanza that was repeated daily were recorded. Thus in three ways, speed, accuracy, and memory, it is possible to test the children's state of mind. Professor Cattell's purpose was the determination of the rate and manner in which skill in the use of the typewriter increases. His figures, however, are equally useful for the purpose of comparison with the changes of weather, and to this end he has kindly put them at my disposal. The results are unmistakable even in the present incomplete state of the calculations. In spite of the hundred and one accidents which might influence the children's minds, the effect of the barometer is clearly apparent. In one case an individual curve for more than a month runs almost absolutely parallel to the fluctuations of the barometer. In other cases a seeming disagreement turns out on closer examination to be a striking agreement. For instance in one instance the combined curve of all the children, that is the average of all, falls for a week, showing that sickness or colds or some other undefined cause was at work slowing them up. The barometric curve keeps on in its usual sinuous course and at the first glance seems quite unrelated to the ability of the children to write rapidly and accurately. Nevertheless the relationship is there. The children's ability decreased, as has been said, but not steadily. Each time that the barometer rose, the fall in the children's ability was checked, so that the line for that day slopes only very slightly, while on other days when the barometer was falling the children's line drops rapidly. On the whole the agreement between mental activity, including speed, accuracy, and power of memory is so close as to be beyond question. For generations we have been talking about the weather and its influence, and now it appears that we can actually measure the amount of additional work which a man can do because of the passing of a storm. Other elements, such as temperature, humidity, and sunshine play

an important part, but the dominating influence appears to be changes in the barometer. Why this is so we can only guess. The fact remains that in the only cases where it has been tested it is true, and the more rapid the succession of storms the greater is their influence.

Probably the relation between mental work and atmospheric pressure is analogous to that between the growth of plants and temperature. Each species of plant has a certain optimum, or temperature most favorable for growth. Nevertheless a plant is not helped by being kept permanently at that temperature. It will grow far better if the air is sometimes cooler and sometimes warmer than the optimum. Repeated fluctuations back and forth from day to day or between day and night are the most stimulating conditions, provided the average temperature is not far from the optimum and the departures from that point are not too great. Apparently something similar takes place in the human brain. Day by day the brain, especially in childhood it would seem, is alternately stimulated and checked. The checks give rest, the stimulus creates or encourages the habit and capacity for strenuous exertion. Some brains are doubtless more and others less sensitive to such barometric stimuli. In a country of uniform conditions and slow changes like Central Asia or the tropics neither type would have any special advantage. In a country like Japan characterized by frequent changes the brains susceptible to the stimuli would work actively and certain individuals by means of greater power of thought and action would succeed while those who were not subject to the stimuli would be worsted. Thus, it would seem that in Japan a certain type of mind has been selected and preserved by reason of the stormy climate. The type is the same as that which prevails in western Europe and North America, and quite different from that of the rest of Asia. If this is so, it is most fortunate for Japan. For China and for many other nations it may seem unfortunate, but perhaps the future is not so dark as would appear. The knowledge of a disease is the first step toward the remedy. If the mind needs a stimulus, science must invent one.

CATHOLIC PORTUGUESE MISSIONS OF ANGOLA

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Portugal was one of the earliest and has been among the most zealous of Catholic missionary countries. Not only did the Portuguese monarchs plant the Catholic religion wherever their hardy discoverers hoisted their "Quinas," the historic flag, with its sacred emblems of the Redeemer's five wounds, but desirous of embracing the complete ideal of Christian faith, they opened up seas and continents to commerce as the most solid and effectual basis for a universal brotherhood. This lofty conception of religion, on the part of the Portuguese rulers found, happily, a responsive echo in the souls of their loyal subjects. Thus when their national poet, Louis de Camoens, sang of "Those Kings who extended faith and empire far and wide:"

"Dáquelles Reis, que foram dilatando
A Fé, o imperio;"

he sang it equally of the valiant-souled people of Lusitania:

"Que eu canto o peito illustre Lusitano,"

who, by feats of daring, made of their sovereign's dreams triumphant realities, and of their national history, especially from 1418 to 1520, rather an epic poem than a mere chronicle of events.

One evil day, in 1580, a Spanish king succeeded to the throne of Portugal and thus united, unhappily, under one crown the two mighty colonial empires of the sixteenth century. Though Portugal regained her independence sixty years later and drove the Spaniards home to Castile and ousted the Dutch from Rio de Janeiro and from Angola, the task of political reorganization, during that disastrous period of religious strife in Europe, surpassed her strength, and the once renowned Christianity, established and fos-

tered by her in the kingdoms of San Salvador and of Angola, having been entirely neglected under the Philips, lapsed back unsupported to paganism. Joseph Thomson describing the missions of this epoch, writes: "It was a time when missionary zeal rose to a pitch never surpassed: when there was a chain of mission-posts almost around the coast-line and far up the Kongo and the Zambesi."

In 1817 an effort was made in the United States, by the foundation of a benevolent society, to provide territory in Africa for liberated slaves. This having failed a new experiment was tried in 1823, which resulted in the creation of the Republic of Liberia. The coming into existence of this new state awakened in the minds of American Catholics the remembrance of the long-forgotten Portuguese missions. An appeal was made to Gregory XVI who referred the matter to the fathers of the First Council of Baltimore. In 1841 Bishop Kenrick of Philadelphia sent to Africa his vicar-general, the Rev. Edward Barron, in company with two other missionaries, and Rome conferred upon him the title of vicar apostolic of upper Guinea, and, later on, joined to this already vast jurisdiction that of lower Guinea. Bishop Barron, finding himself helpless in face of this gigantic undertaking, appealed for aid to the missionaries of the Holy Ghost, an Order expressly founded in view of foreign mission work, especially in Africa. With these the Libreville mission, in French Gaboon, started in 1844, followed by the Dakar mission in Senegal in 1847. Upon Mgr. Barron's demise the two vicarates were confided to the care of the Holy Ghost Fathers, as also, subsequently, the missions of Angola.

While the impulse given to modern African missions on the West Coast came so opportunely from the United States, another no less important missionary movement began in 1849, on the East Coast, in the wake of Livingstone's discovery of Ngami. This opening of Africa not only appealed to numerous missionary societies and to the zeal of Christian peoples, but also attracted the attention of the chancellaries of Europe that soon began the partition of the dark continent.

Angola is the choicest bit of that mighty belt of territory stretching across the African continent, from the Atlantic to the Indian Oceans and reaching in breadth from the equator to the Tropic of Capricorn. It is estimated at 184,479 square miles with a population of a little over 4,000,000. In a rough way I may describe the province of Angola as lying between mighty rivers. On the north the Kongo; on the east the Kuango, the far off Kassai, and the Zambesi in its course towards the midday sun, till the cataracts of Katima, where the southern boundary, beginning, follows along the banks of the Kubango (going east) and of the Kunene (going west). The western boundary is the sole Atlantic Ocean.

A very interesting and striking orohydrographic information, not to be omitted, is that right in the middle of Angola and all along parallel 12° S. is the drainage area, the great catchment basin of Africa's largest rivers and lakes. From this mammoth watershed come the Kuanza, the Kuango, the Kassai, the Lualaba (that forms Lake Kassali), and the Luapulo or upper Kongo (that forms Lake Moero). All these rivers run northward and are affluents of the great Kongo, save the Kuanza that flows into the Atlantic. From this same regional reservoir Lakes Bangweolo and Nyassa take their origin; and flowing southward from it are the Kunene, that rushes into the Atlantic Ocean; the Kubango and the Kuito of which the outlets have not been yet discovered; and into the Indian Ocean flow the Kuando, the Zambesi, the Kabompo, the Kafue and the Lungue Vungo (these last three being affluents of the Zambesi). A development of this watershed, peculiar to Angola, is found in Uhala Mbulumvulo, a treeless, desert region, a flat plain with sea-like undulating hillocks of sand, upon a level with the high mountain ranges, where the torrential rains of the wet season are imbibed, and in turn form a reservoir that nourishes the innumerable rivers of Angola.

The shore line of Angola from the Kongo to the Kunene is a low lying, unhealthy strip of monotonous sea board without cliff or strand, often marshy but for the most part a barren torrid beach. The early Portuguese traders disregarding

these unfavorable circumstances and knowing full well that the natives, to whom time and distance are matters of no consideration, would flock to their ships for the sake of bartering, established themselves wherever they found landing and loading facilities. And yet, beyond in the hazy distance, running parallel to the ocean are the rocky heights, the pillars of the plateau, that rise in rows, tier upon tier, upheaving into a healthier altitude the extensive table-land of Angola. This plateau may be divided into three zones. The shore zone is some 50 miles wide, and rises gradually to about 1900 feet. Though apparently arid, and unhealthy for the white man, yet it is sufficiently productive to maintain numerous tribes of nomadic natives, with their herds of cattle. The next zone is of the same breadth, but here abundant waters nourish rich pasturages and clumps of woods; even among the high rocks alluvial deposits offer a fertile soil for the plants and crops of temperate climates; wheat, corn and potatoes grow side by side with coffee, cocoa and the banana. These advantages, a greater purity of air, and refreshing breezes, make it possible for the white man to found here his home. Next comes the third zone, the plateau uplifted on piles of huge cliffs from 5500 to 5900 feet above sea-level. As the table-land extends far east across the continent towards the Indian Ocean it very gradually descends and becomes more and more inhospitable and less fit for cultivation. Yet it is from this semi-desert hinterland that the Portuguese rubber market has derived its chief supply. Game of all species and size, flock in the forests and upon the plains. The lion and the elephant are still hunted. Drummond rightly divides Africa into three parts: the north, where men go for health; the south where they go for wealth; and the central part where sport and adventure abound. Birds of great variety and surpassing beauty haunt the groves. The valleys, the glens, the rocky fastnesses display everywhere unexpected and gorgeous specimens of floral beauty. There are plains so thickly strewn with small wild flowers that one fancies he is treading a yielding Persian carpet of multitudinous diversity of color and pattern, and softness of texture. The ordinary temper-

ature of the plateau, according to Father Lecomte, is from 59° to 68° Fahrenheit. It is considered abnormal when the mercury mounts to 77°.

It was toward the latter end of May that I arrived at Mossamedes, to the extreme south of Angola, and resolved to approach the great plan'alto (plateau) by the Kalahari desert and to climb to the high table-land by the Chella, a giant upheaval, 6500 feet of perpendicular rock. Mossamedes, capital of the district of the same name, is situated on a picturesque bay, the residence of a governor and at the very entrance of the desert. From the relative coolness, healthiness and beauty of the spot it has won the suggestive title of the African Cintra. As there was a caravan leaving on the morrow of my arrival I took my seat with the driver of one of the five ponderous wagons, laden with supplies for the various missions of the southern end of Angola. The supplies consisted of clothing, agricultural implements, machinery, tools, books, both religious and scientific and other articles. Our personnel consisted of a few whites, half a dozen boys from one of the missions, and a dozen or more uncivilized blacks who though constantly in touch with civilization preserve their primitive costumes. Each wagon was drawn by ten or twelve yoke of oxen, and a relay of over a hundred of these useful and valuable beasts, were driven by shepherds that followed the caravan, to supply those that from fatigue, heat or drought, might die in the desert during the twelve days it was to take us to get through. From 400 to 600 cattle perish annually in the journey. A railway has since been constructed. The caravan started for the desert at the usual signal; the sharp explosive crack of a big whip, which requires both hands to wield, the handle and lash being each about six feet, but this latter is tipped with crocodile gut and produces a sound like a gun and may be heard a mile away. It is thus useful for announcing the moment of departure, for making the approach of the caravan known, even from afar, to some still distant station or mission, and for helping the strayed to find the caravan, and in this way the helpful crack of the big whip has often saved

from untimely death travelers that had wandered away from their companions.

At 4.30 p.m. halt was called. We were then out of sight of vegetation and civilization, lost in the desolate wilderness amid dunes of sand, the horizon itself a monotonous line of sand mounds, sand about us in hillocks and interminable stretches, sand in all its unproductiveness and pathlessness. The camp was promptly pitched, the wagons forming a classic circle around us; the scrub grass was scraped together for bedding and the fires were lighted. I strayed away, as was my wont, from the bustle of the camp and lost myself most enjoyably amongst the sand hills, for I had longed "to come into those yellow sands," to hearken to "the desert's weeping;" for the evening breeze rustling over the sand produces a prolonged moan:

"That undefined and mingled hum,
Voice of the desert never dumb."

The desert with its soil like fire and its wind a flame, as the Nubian Arabs say, or as Bishop LeRoy has it "Where the sky has no cloud and the earth no shade," appealed to me.

Upon returning to the camp, when night had suddenly fallen, for under the tropics "at one stride comes the dark," I found my Kissongo (African guide) sitting stoically on a rocky ledge that had poked its surface through the sand, surrounded by a number of his fellows, who apparently sympathized with him and were earnestly discussing something to his interest. He had been stung by a black viper and death would follow in a few hours unless a prompt remedy were applied. The general opinion of all and of the Kissongo himself was that an operation should be immediately performed. A medicine-man, one of the black fellows that accompanied the caravan, was busy in a moment honing a small blade with a self-sufficiency that won for him the confidence of all the on-lookers. In an astonishingly off-hand way he approached the man, punctured all around the stung part, then energetically rubbed into the incisions a handful of ordinary gun powder and concluded by com-

placently taking from the nearest fire a lighted brand and applied it deftly to the wound. An instantaneous flame produced a cloud of smoke and a smell of burnt flesh and then all was over. Most satisfactorily the operation had been performed and the deadly progress of snake poisoning arrested. During the ordeal my man never gave, for an instant of time, the slightest sign of suffering. No anaesthetic had been administered, and yet no wince or quiver of his tortured body, no involuntary twitch, no half suppressed groan, no look of pain nor even of relief when all was over, no word of thanks, nothing betrayed what my Kissongo felt. I led him to his supper near a fire; he relished it with undiminished appetite and—nothing more. Thus I was agreeably surprised to find myself, at the very outset of my African experience, right in presence of that very interesting problem, initiation or puberty rites. The primitives seem to have understood, intuitively, that man comes into this world very imperfectly equipped for the battle of life, and that it is indispensably necessary for the soul in its struggle versus physical and mental pain, to prove its superiority. Through some process of reasoning, the primitive has invariably concluded that a man is not a man, that woman is not a woman (therefore unfit to be initiated into the mysteries of their sex) until perfect self-control and endurance is attained. Previous to the period of puberty youth counts as sexless. To pass the threshold of childhood into manhood or womanhood they must give a public and irrecusable proof of endurance under pain, physical and mental, which endurance the primitive considers as essential to the integrity and harmonious completeness of his being. Mr. Hall in his book *Adolescence* and other authors who treat of ethnological subjects abound in vivid descriptions of initiation and puberty rights. These rites are practiced in Angola as well as circumcision, which latter is spreading even amongst tribes that up to lately ignored it. There is apparently nothing of a religious character attached to such practices; they are wholly civic and sanitary. It is during this time that they reveal to youth the secrets of the tribe.

The camp fires burned brightly that night, between

beds that were only a foot apart; they flickered and crackled. The savage cannot sleep without a friendly fire: it keeps off the dampness; it moderates the temperature, which on starry nights when the heavens are clear and the evaporation rapid, the thermometer often falls even to freezing point. A fire is a cheerful companion. The savage also likes gazing upon the glowing embers, and figures to himself lakes and rivers and fishing and hunting. Though he never worries his brain to find out the principles of combustion, nor wonders how it consumes, destroys and alters, yet he finds great comfort in it. A fire keeps off wild beasts; they dare not, it would seem, approach this triumphant discovery by which man demonstrates that he so far over-tops and is specifically separated from all other animals. No lion, elephant or orangoutang ever struck a spark from a flint or rubbed two pieces of dry wood together, till by friction they produced a flame, wherewith to warm the body or cook a meal. The fires of our encampment on that peculiar night, my first in the desert, lent a strangeness to the scene and gave to beasts and men weird new forms. The cattle stared at the blaze with large dreamy eyes, and while they rhythmically moved their munching jaws "you heard them chew the fodder sleepily." It was the witching moment for men, of whatsoever color their skins might be, to tell or to listen to the quaint old legends or fantastic folk lore handed down unreflectively and unexplained, things that are true though nobody can tell why they are, real enigmas of the past: enigmas that though strange they may be, all take their origin from our incurable searching after the reasons of things; from the will which is constantly in a state of expectancy of undreamt adventures, and from the adaptability of our nature to higher things, so that even folk lore and fairy stories may have a higher *raison d'être* for man than smoking or chewing gum. Then fairy tales please, as Farrer says, not because they are impossible but because they carry the mind further afield than actual experience does into the realms of the possible. Many were the stories told that night of travelers lost in the desert or killed by lions, and of the white man's grave, wherein his friends had piously laid

him, desecrated by the jackal or the laughing hyena. But the Bantu folk lore alone interested me. A great deal, of course, is insipid and trivial perhaps because our mind fails to see the implied meaning. As the night advanced the men fell asleep while I and a few that were near me, continued to converse till the moon, 'twas 11 o'clock, silently and majestically rose, flooding the lonely desert with her wan but welcome radiance. It suggested the story about the moon which a half civilized man related in his own way.

"There was a time when the sun was young running wildly about the skies. He met the moon and fell in love with her; they married. For a long time they lived happy and had a lot of children, the stars. Alas! the sun and moon quarreled. The moon was frightened. She ran away and hid behind the earth. Their children followed the mother and none of them appear in the sun's presence. He is ever since in hot pursuit of his wife around the earth. She never appears till after he is gone. Two bright little daughters keep watch morning and evening and tell the moon their father's whereabouts." The Mahomedan's theory of the stars is that they are missiles for stoning the devil. The Tahitian's say the sun and moon are the progenitors of the stars. In all folk lore there are stories to explain the origin of the sun and moon and stars but the one I was told that night in the desert is the prettiest I ever heard. I read it since in books. It seems to be a folk legend, of which the radical is ever the same.

After twelve days journeying in the Kalahari desert we arrived at Kapangombe, right in front and in full sight of the marvelous Chella, an upheaval of solid, clean cut perpendicular rock 6500 feet, without a crevice or cranny where wild flowers might grow, but on the top edge of the plateau could be distinguished a giant baobab with its quaint form looking like a weed. As I sat on an adjacent boulder contemplating the wondrous Chella, and seeing my Kissongo pass near I hailed him and asked what he thought of the magnificent sight. His answer was laconic. "Black man see Chella, only Chella." Like our Peter Bell:

"A primrose by a river's brim
 A yellow primrose was to him
 And it was nothing more."

The province of Angola is divided administratively into five districts: in these are to be found the missions of which I am to speak, while the missions in San Salvador do Congo are directed by the missionaries of Sernach. The accompanying diagram gives an idea of the number, development and importance of the missions of Angola.

MISSIONS OF ANGOLA	MISSIONS	PAGANS	LAW BROTHERS	NUNS	CHRISTIAN VILLAGE	CATECHISTS	INTERNS	
							Boys	Girls
Enclave of Cabinda...	4	13	11	10	14	29	477	285
District of Lunda.....	4	11	8	12	6	36	144	69
District of Benguela..	9	21	16	4	11	40	432	150
District of Huilla.....	7	20	26	7	15	34	228	165
	24	65	61	33	46	139	1281	669

These twenty-four missions, whether central or dependent, have all a similar organization, are developed in the same manner, and have adopted uniform method of evangelization, so that a very perfect idea may be gathered from this diagram notwithstanding the fact that I group them all together for the sake of brevity. They are industrial, educational, and religious centers; they have their workshops, schools, and chapels, their barns, and their infirmaries; they have their Christian villages (which form their natural and most desirable complement); they attend also, each one, to a certain number of the surrounding pagan villages in which there are frequently Christian neophytes; the missions, in some distant parts, have also their outposts and fortifications against marauding tribes, for many a time have they had to suffer from prolonged sieges and armed attacks, and to offer shelter and protection to peaceful inhabitants who established themselves near the mission in view of greater safety. In the central missions special advantages of all kinds are procurable, such as well-supplied libraries, pharmacies, scientific instruments, a printing press

for the publishing of works of missionary interest, and an infirmary where far from civilization many a weary traveler, many an adventurous merchant or intrepid soldier have been cured of African fevers, nursed and brought back to life. Services of equal value, but on a larger scale, have been rendered to the natives during the decimating epidemic of smallpox, and sleeping sickness, and even the cattle, the wealth of Angola, often attacked by plagues of different kinds are saved by the veterinary surgeons of the missions. Near the central mission there is moreover, as a general rule, a convent wherein nuns educate young colored girls destined usually to be teachers and catechists of their own people.

The missions are composed of different categories of persons. First of all there is the missionary priest whose primal obligation is to conduct the church services, the administration of the sacraments, religious instruction and the general direction of the mission. He teaches, besides, the higher literary classes and becomes according to opportunity, physician, druggist, architect, smith, builder, carpenter, cook and infirmarian. A true missionary is ready to delve into even science and to dabble in every trade. Then, once in a while, if time lie heavy on his hands, he uses his leisure to take up his peculiar hobby, the study of some of the Bantu languages, the flora, fauna, or geological study of the region he is in; the study of folk-lore, legends, customs, superstitions and music of the surrounding tribes. I have seen some very complete collections of stones, piles of herbariums, destined to the universities and great museums of Lisbon, Vienna, Paris and Brussels. (Missionaries' names have been given as discoverers, to unknown plants, through the grateful courtesy of the notable botanists who classified the said specimens). I have found files of mission chronicles and records of personal observation on historical, geographical, and ethnical local matter. Meteorological observations are made perseveringly by some of the students when the mission has not self-registering instruments. I noticed in one of these missions a most important work of compilation, the slow and painstaking labors of many upon magic, in which the secrets of the Gangas, the action of the Bantu

secret societies, the description of their ceremonies and the mysteries of the world of spirits as known to their sooth-sayers are consigned.

The priest's activity is by no means circumscribed by the near surroundings of his African home; he must evangelize the man in the bush, the perfect savage. Thus each mission is forever creating new ramifications, embryonic centers that will develop into new schools and chapels and barns and workshops. In the beginning these outposts are visited once a fortnight or monthly according to circumstances. If there be a convenient native hut it serves as school, and on Sundays is transformed into a chapel. If there be no hut convenient the spreading, outstretched enormous branches of the village tree serve the purpose, and is certainly more adapted and more in harmony with the end than were the Irish hedge schools of our grandfathers. Nothing is enforced upon these wild children of the woods: neither instruction nor religion. It is forbidden to baptize, no matter how willing the parents or even the neophyte may be, unless there exists a moral certitude that the baptized will receive in time full religious instruction. The only exception to this law would be the fact of the person being in immediate danger of death.

The second category of missionaries is the lay-brother. He is not a cleric; he has not received orders, but he is a religious, that is, he has made the three vows as adjutant in missionary work. These lay brothers are charged with the elementary instruction, material interests, and teaching of trades and handicrafts. Lord Bacon's theories with regard to plantations or colonization, find in the modern mission their complete realization. "The people wherewith you plant," he writes, "ought to be gardeners, ploughmen, laborers, smiths, carpenters, joiners, fishermen, fowlers, with a few apothecaries, surgeons, cooks and bakers." If you add to this list a few more such as tailors, shoemakers, tanners, veterinary surgeons, sawyers of wood, mechanicians, and printers, you will have the help needed in a central mission, and to this help the missions owe their material as well as their spiritual success, since the one is built upon the other,

and it was decreed from the beginning "in the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread." In such centres the young Bantu finds himself from the start of his life in the mission, surrounded by marvellous machinery in the different shops: he loves to watch the blacksmith's forge and hear the bellows roar. Everything appeals to the little savage's imagination, and the lay brother is there to note and develop his pupils' love and aptitude for work.

Another very valuable educational force, employed in the modern mission is the nun. Nuns are groups of Catholic women who live together in community life and are bound by the three vows of religion. In the mission they help to educate and civilize the native children of their own sex. If Lord Bacon classifies plantations amongst ancient primitive and heroical works, and if men merit this last qualification of heroic notwithstanding the immense satisfaction men as a class experience in visiting hitherto unknown lands, and this on account of the spirit of adventure which is in them, truly heroic are the women, to whom generally this spirit of adventure, and the war-like spirit, are lacking, who by nature are conservative and sedentary, whose frailty of organism is the very asset of the beauty they so cherish, and who cannot expect a return of any kind in the teaching of savage girls, which in itself would be a recompense, surely those devoted nuns deserve to be called heroic. Black girls are far less attractive than black boys, and they fail completely to develop the winning charms, the winsome graces and gratitude of their little white sisters in our schools. The idea of asking for woman's coöperation in missionary work comes not only from the fact of their being the best adapted for the uplifting of their own sex, but also because they should share in the spiritual warfare at least, since they, for spiritual matters, possess very rare aptitudes.

The catechists male and female taken from among the most intelligent and best of the pupils are indispensable for the success of missionary work. They have always merited the most serious preoccupation of their teachers, who prepare them scrupulously for their mission of coöperation. This preparation begins in childhood and continues till they have

reached the age of manhood or womanhood, and have given proof of their knowledge of religion and total exemption from superstition and its practices. In some missions the teachers must be married, and then they divide the education of boys and girls between them. The first elementary notions of religion and the usual prayers are taught to the children in their own language, and certainly it is a beautiful thing to hear them praise the Lord each one in his own tongue. We have no difficulty in teaching Christian doctrine to the Bantu child, so true is Tertullian's great aphorism that the soul is naturally Christian, and so true is it that savage children also absorb the great eternal truths as infants milk. Where we do find immense difficulty is in getting the adult savage to observe the Christian law, and in rooting out of his mind superstitions and that irrational fear and dread, by which magic tyrannizes over the soul, and all those vain observances and practices so unworthy of man.

The earlier missionaries, in centuries past, began their work of evangelization by addressing themselves to the adult savage. If the Sobba or king favored the missionary, and especially if he became a convert himself and practiced religion, then there was a rich harvest of conversions, for 'tis natural that men should follow example from on high, though possibly such conversions are not of the choicest. In those days owing to his ignorance of the language, the missionary had necessarily to confide in his catechists who by their falseness, treachery, and ignorance thwarted the efforts made and caused great prejudice to the work. Even the modern missions at their origin counted for success upon the adult savage. It was yet the time of slavery, slave markets existed everywhere, and as a successful agricultural and industrial mission depended upon them and in as much as the freeing of these unfortunates was accomplished by the money furnished by the anti-slavery societies, the missionaries conceived the apparently happy idea that by distributing among them land, instruments, and seed, and by building cabins for the liberated slaves, they would be founding a flourishing religious colony of contented, thriving, laborious and grateful people.

It was a miscalculation. According to what seems to be an innate savage theory, only slaves work. Now if the white man gave him his liberty he in his primitive logic concluded that the white man did not want him to work. The savage idea of liberty is to fish, hunt, eat, drink, be merry, and lie on his back in the sun half the day. Another of his theories is that woman must do the work, cultivate the field, cook and brew for him, simply because she is a woman, and this also in virtue of the tritest of principles, which even savages know and observe, the law of might over right. So the missionaries soon learned that the adult savage was resolved upon living up to his own views. We know that all education has some touch of cruelty to it: it needs a strenuous and constant effort, and this is more than any ignorant adult is willing to do. Give the adult savage priceless liberty, you seek too much when in return you ask him to work, even for himself.

The modern missionary profiting by acquired experience and comprehending more fully the wisdom of the Master's injunction "Suffer little children to come unto me" went earnestly to work, traveled into far distant regions and wherever he saw or heard of a child slave he redeemed it, and filled his school with those henceforward happy, docile beings, not yet initiated into magic rites, with minds free in great part from superstitions, and with wills anxious to learn. With these as they grew up he established his Christian villages. Happily today no markets for the human beast of burden exist and the method now employed to replenish the mission schools is quite different: it is to the children the appeal is made. These little savages go now to school for no other reason than their own free will. Like the birds on the branch they are free: their parents scarcely ever interfere with them: they can go to school or flee it as they will, and often for mere capricious motives they do take to the woods. Yet their attendance on the whole is very regular, their progress consoling, and their conduct really exemplary. Like their fathers they have a hatred for work yet they want to learn the white man's ways, and they persuade themselves that this can be attained without work.

Visiting on one occasion a large mission, and having been informed that the couple of hundred boys sustained by the mission gave satisfaction in classes, but if asked to help in the garden or do any manual labour would instantly take to the bush, I had recourse to the following stratagem. Having remarked how much these boys loved toasted corn and having seen them eat it during their games, and between classes, I thought I would propose to them what a fine thing it would be if they raised a big crop of it for their own use: the Superior I said would willingly grant a piece of land and the hoes and seed could be easily obtained. They liked the idea, took it up immediately, and the next day they were hard at work cultivating the "boy's field." I heard afterwards that they had a fine crop, of which they were proud, and that never afterwards, in that mission, did little boys run and hide in the woods when asked to work. In this same mission I remarked that real progress had been made in the development of character. We missionaries consider this a most essential and indispensable point in the civilization of the primitive. By the pagan puberty rites it is true, some command over oneself is attained. Dr. Tyler writes that the blacks "are in mental as well as in physical ability, in no respect inferior to the whites. They are capable of as high a degree of culture as any people on the face of the globe. They are not only emotional but logical and have retentive memories and can split hairs equal to any Yankee lawyer." All this may be true and yet to make a man something more is needed than an intelligence or retentive memory and logical aptitude, viz: character, and character means strong mindedness and noble mindedness. With regard to this latter attribute the following simple story goes to prove that some germ of it exists in the Bantu soul. One day when visiting the classes at this same central mission I found a boy of some twelve years old outside the class room door weeping bitterly. I inquired from him the cause of so much weeping. "Father, I was scolded." "What a shame," I retorted "for a big boy like you to weep simply because you were scolded. Had you been beaten I could understand." To which came a quick rejoinder "But words, Father, are harder than blows."

When the young natives have finished learning and have arrived at an age to make a home for themselves, they receive all the land necessary for this purpose, the materials for construction, the instruments, seed, etc., which are indispensable. In this way the Christian villages already in existence are augmented and new ones are founded. The missionaries make it clear to their young people from the very beginning of their education, that they as Christians are bound to make a living for themselves, that it cannot be tolerated, in the face of the civilized and working world in an age of commercial activities, that they continue idle and indifferent, though natives of an incalculably rich country, and that they even still sustain their lives, as their ancestors did, by pillage and massacre. The missionaries preach to them, in season and out of season, that the law of labour is of Divine origin, that it is the indispensable bond for the linking of all men together as citizens of the world, and that it must be accepted by the Africans as well as by other nations.

To these cursory notes on the missions of Angola I must add a few of my own personal experiences. When visiting them and spending on the journey from a few days to a week or more, in very remote regions, completely outside the civilizing influences of missions or even military posts, I found myself in real savage land, alone with the savage, living with him his primitive life, often surprising him in the midst of his festivities, arriving in time to be present at the quaint, weird ceremonies and midnight dances of the Gangas, accompanied by the monotonous and lugubre beat of the tam-tam, around the hut of a sick man or woman, or to witness the burial of a Sobba, the burning of a village by a marauding enemy, or be present at the joyful night-long harvest feast. It seemed to me as if I began to understand, much better than if I relied alone upon information from books, and had never left my desk, the black savage's way of looking at things and to understand from his point of view and in his circumstances the peculiarities of his mode of living, and this all the more satisfactorily as I invariably traveled with savages alone. My carriers belonged, as a rule, to far off

tribes who had come from the interior laden with rubber and other marketable stuffs and were returning from the coast. On two occasions my men were exclusively cannibal: young men of from eighteen to twenty-two years, tall, well built warriors, fleet of foot as the gazelle, and with their teeth filed sharp and pointed like cats. They were not, however, ferocious cannibals. When I asked them laughingly one day, as we sat for our midday meal if they wouldn't eat me, they smiled and answered they were too young. Effectively in this tribe the eating of human flesh is reserved as a privilege to the elders and only on solemn occasions as when a new king is enthroned. My cannibals never caused me a moment's apprehension. Neither they nor any other savages ever abandoned me or left my camp at night, or stole. They were perfectly loyal to me, cared for me, and hunted for me when I was sick, followed me when I acted contrary to their unanimous opinion, or exposed myself in places where they said lions, or crocodiles or other beasts abounded. In danger of all sorts and in a few skirmishes with enemies they were most devoted and most docile. However, not of this but of matters directly or indirectly pertaining to religion I have to speak. One morning, after a feverish, sleepless night of heat and bodily discomfort, slung in my hammock from the branch of a tree, I was eagerly awaiting my customary morning cup of coffee. I watched with legitimate interest every movement of my black cook busily preparing the beverage, that would give me renewed strength to pursue the day's journeyings. Now it must be known that I always carried with me in a corner of my provision box a little cup and saucer of ordinary white china, but of inestimable value to me, because of the services it rendered. In it I took my broth, my coffee, and with it I drank water from the muddy stream, or, in time of drought, when the only water to be attained was by scooping a hole with one's hands in the sandy bottom of some Mollola or dried-up river. Though chipped and cracked and long since without a handle my cup and saucer were a comfort to me and I often thought how wisely the ancient kings acted in having a special cup-bearer. The saucer was my only plate. As I followed intently my black

cook's every movement I to my great displeasure saw him slip and let my cup and saucer fall to the ground and break to pieces. Henceforward I had to drink my soup from the ladle, my coffee from the pot and water from the hollow of my hand. My cook realized the damage he had caused me. I saw him collect carefully the shattered fragments. He brought them to me and stretching out his palms he said "Missionary, little cup and saucer dead" and then stared me in the face with a look of agony. His piteousness and the unexpectedness of his expression completely reconciled me to my loss for I found myself thus, all of a sudden, in presence of the animism of the Bantu, if animism it be. What did my man mean to say with his "little cup and saucer dead"? He meant that little cup and saucer were no more, but their rests were there. They were no longer a cup and saucer. That which made them a cup and saucer was gone, their way of being as he usually expresses it, their quiddity as we might call it, was no more, a formless bit of crockery remained but what had been there was gone, it was dead. "Little cup and saucer dead." This conciseness was not due to want of words for the Bantu is exceedingly loquacious and precise. What else is death but the passing away of a determined form and as the cup and saucer had lost their form, they were dead. The savage mind grasps things intuitively. The black from childhood asks no "why." He cares not for the reason of things. Indolence in part and tendency to fatality as in all ignorant people, and a mind that has always lain fallow, may be the causes. His only response to questions of this kind is that very descriptive one given by a black man to a curious inquirer "Who ever saw the other side of the moon." This side suits him. He wants to know no more.

The story of the *Omphunda-iovakaintu* or the Maidens' Knoll. One evening I walked out with a companion to visit the surroundings of a very prosperous mission. The country was most attractive as it presented a peculiarly interesting geological formation. At intervals, not distant from one another, appeared abrupt risings of the ground like islands, masses of stratified rock in perfectly horizontal layers,

crowned with tropical vegetation, lofty palms, trees of great size in tufts, with graceful aloes predominating. The under-growth was so dense I tried in vain to penetrate it. Birds of great variety and exquisite plumage made these knolls their haunt, and the air was resonant with the hum of insect life. The underbrush afforded covert to smaller wild animals. One of these islands attracted my attention: it was that called the Maidens' Knoll. Now it must be known that in Africa it is customary for young girls on attaining the age of maturity, to celebrate it with great rejoicing. The Bantu virgins instead of doing up their hair and adding a few inches to the skirt length, change their *onikeka*, or childish headdress into one of elaborate and artistic workmanship, augment their arm and ankle bracelets and other details of their habitual dress. But it was not only in this that consisted the annual feast in honour of the débutantes celebrated in a certain village, long ago, near to the Maidens' Knoll in question. The most interesting feature of the programme was that the maidens during the feast should stealthily take to flight, and that the young men come to the age of manhood that year, when the girls' flight was known, should pursue them, carrying light hammocks in which to bring back in triumph, amidst the greetings and the rejoicing of the whole village, the captured damsels. On one occasion, as the story tells us, the girls stole away in flight and were as usual followed in eager chase by the young men, but the maidens, this time, were not to be caught. As they approached the Knoll in question, and could hear the cries and the very panting of their pursuers, fearful of being caught they invoked with such fervor the genius of the spot, that their prayer was heard and they were changed into tree spirits, like Ariel in the tempest, and hid in the trunks of the slender, lily-like, tapering aloe trees with their gaudy flowers hanging in clusters between the thick glossy foliage. Long and vainly the young men sought for them when by chance upon the breaking of a leaf of aloes warm red blood came oozing out and trickled ominously to the ground. That night there was sorrow and wailing in the village. Mothers in despairing desolation shrieked their solemn dirges to the winds,

they moaned their tale of woe to the pale moon in the lonely heavens of the night: it was the Bantu's Coronach! For long years after in this village, on very calm nights, soft silvery, maiden voices were heard singing plaintive melodies, in the direction of the Knoll and even now, says the legend, if an aloe leaf be broken, blood still issues, but if you break a leaf from curiosity, no blood will flow.

This legend with its Dantesque and Virgilian and other analogies is convincing that even in the Bantu breast there lurks a stray streak of real poetry, a curious tribute to the unity of the human family. Here is the passage from the great Italian poet.

"Thereat a little stretching forth my hand,
From a great wilding gathered I a branch,
And straight the trunk exclaimed: "Why pluck'st thou me?"
Then, as the dark blood trickled down its side,
These words it added: Wherefore tear'st me thus?
Is there no touch of mercy in thy breast?
Men once were we that now are rooted here,
Thy hand might well have spared us, had we been
The souls of serpents
Forth from the broken splinter words and blood."

(Dante, Hell, Cant. 13).

The *Ontoka* is a dangerous serpent, about six feet in length, of a grayish tint, with a green head and a big red spot, crest like, topping the same. Within sight of a certain mission is a grotto of such depth that its descent is made only under danger and with difficulty. This was formerly in years gone by, the lair of a gigantic *Ontoka*, the terror of the neighborhood. When the monster left his cavern at night in search of prey his head might be resting on the nearby hills while his tail had not yet left the grotto. If the *Ontoka* crept over the tops of the trees, through their trembling branches the wind would moan fitfully, and then the trees would surely wither and all human beings and animals that happened to be nigh would fall sick. Wherever the *Ontoka* passed death and destruction followed in his trail. About him was a spectral glare of flame as if he breathed fire into the surrounding atmosphere. (It puts one in mind of nearly identical fabulous stories of other lands.)

"See him stride
Valleys wide
Over woods
Over floods
When he treads
Mountains' heads
Groan and shake."

(*Dean Swift.*)

The *Ontokas* live in caverns near springs. Each spring indeed claims an *Ontoka* for its custodian. So it is with great fear that the savages approach their wells and that at night no woman or child would dare go alone to draw water. Every sobba or chief has his *Ontoka* or protector, who visits the emballa, or Sobba's dwelling, at the witching hour of midnight to consult with him, and whenever a sacrifice is to be offered the *Ontoka* spends the night in the entrails of the victim. With regard to our giant *Ontoka*, the elders of the village in question, who are all under the power of the Ganga or magician, never weary of relating the wondrous feats he performed in olden times, before the coming of the missionaries: that it was these that drove him away and that if the people want him to return, they must revert to the religion of their ancestors and withdraw the children from the white man's schools.

One afternoon, my savage carriers and myself hurried along our way to a post yet far off, where we might possibly get a place to sleep, under shelter from the torrential rains, when I fortunately spied, at some distance, a krall upon a hilltop, and I immediately resolved stopping there, for I was feverish and dreaded nothing so much as passing the night in the dripping woods. My men, however, showed strong repugnance to climb the steep side of that little native fortress but as I never discussed matters with them, I, on this occasion as upon many others, simply led the way and they followed. The hamlet in question was fortified after the manner of the Bantus, with palisades in double row, some 12 feet high, fastened together with unbreakable lianas and accessible only by a narrow causeway. We climbed in single file, crossed the intervening foss by a bridge made of two planks, and knocking at the entrance asked for hospi-

tality. Soon the gate was flung open—sideways, for it worked pendulum-wise: two heavy beams hanging from the archway, when unlocked, swung to the right or to the left.

One by one we entered and one by one we followed through the narrow maze of passages till we reached an open inclined space, offering from that height a fine view of the country around. The summit was covered with huts and nigh to the chief's I noticed a spreading fir tree, underneath which the village fetish was installed grimly, gruesomely and grotesquely. I had scarcely time to look about me when the Sobba or chief of the village appeared on the scene. With him came his retinue of grave and cautious councilors. Then a crowd of human faces, of men, women and children stared the white man curiously. The Sobba sat down upon the ground and made the usual salaam and clapped his hands, and so did his councilors. According to savage etiquette the honored guest alone was seated, and for this I used a stone as a chair. Just behind me was the hut destined to my use, which a woman was busy sweeping out. Finding myself the uncomfortable center of a lot of gazing savage eyes, I began a conversation which far surpassed in interest my most sanguine expectancy. I inquired from the Sobba about his health and that of his community, but he, the wary chief, giving great importance to my question, consulted in a whispering voice with his councilors, and, then only, gave answer to my interrogation. "The health of all," he said, "is good but we are in sorrow for the soul of a young man that was eaten up." The blacks, it must be observed, do not believe in natural death. They attribute it and all other evils to magic. Profiting of the opening the Sobba's answer gave me I continued: "What then becomes of a man's soul when he dies?" Here a conversation of some minutes ensued and then the Sobba having had the opinion of his advisers replied. "When a man dies his soul goes to the Good God." Again and again I made sure that I had well understood and had caught the right meaning of the black man's answer and then continuing on I asked, "And what does the Good God do with the soul?" The usual consultation with his ministers being over the reply was as follows:

"When a man dies his soul goes to the Good God and if the Good God is pleased He keeps the soul with Him and if He is not pleased He sends the soul away." "But tell me," said I eagerly, "Where does the soul, the Good God does not want, go?" To this the Sobba without consultation, unhesitatingly answered right off, "When the Good God doesn't want the soul, the soul comes back to the village. It is he that frightens our women and children when they go into the woods, kills our hens and pigs, and brings sickness upon us." I still put one more question. "And what do you do to keep away these spirits?" Here the Sobba pointed triumphantly to the village fetish under the shadow of the fir tree and added "He's there for that."

Surely enough, the fetish image was there, fixed to its pedestal, above the ground four feet, with one arm outstretched, poising grotesquely an azagaia (or spear), the face bedaubed with red and yellow ochres and ghostly touches of white clay. Within the sockets of the eyes were broken bits of glass, flat and expressionless. A larger piece covered the abdomen, into which the sorcerer looked when divining, as if he saw the entrails of the fetish. The limbs were distorted and the feet awry. Around the waist a filthy rag and the whole trunk of the body was pierced, porcupine like, with rusty nails, broken awls, blades of old knives, blunted chisels etc. All these had been hammered in as reminders of favours asked for from the spirit that was supposed to inhabit the fetish.

Everybody is familiar with those uncouth fetish statuettes of Bantu sculpture. They are to be seen in all museums. The idea and style suffer no variant, always the same hideously deformed, unproportioned images of the human form divine. They possess not one line of beauty and grace. They develop no curves of expression or feeling. There is nothing in them true to the original. Ages have passed and no improvement has ever been attempted and yet in the sister art of music the Bantu soul is alive to harmony. Why does he cling to the same unremitting ugliness of the fetish? It is not for him as a God nor as an idol of any sort. He renders the fetish no homage, no act of worship: he even

disregards it when he finds it of no use to him. Along with belief in the Good God the Bantu accepts the existence of the underworld and the efficaciousness of its aid to which in his helplessness and ignorance he constantly appeals. He argues within himself that the stronger the spirit that aids him, the more powerful the charm and the more irresistible the spell, the better it will be with him in life. In every emergency it is to the magician he goes. He attributes to him all power and is persuaded that by magic art the sorcerer can oblige agents from the other world to be subservient to him. All superstitions and vain observances originate in magic. Magic is the lie that exists from the beginning, it is the mimicry of religion, the mimicry of science and even of art.

I gave a great surprise one forenoon to a Ganga or sorcerer, the principal medicine man of the region: I visited him in his home. Though living in the vicinity of a mission he certainly did not expect me, for he looked quite ashamed. I caught him in the act of performing a magic dance round a sick person that had come to consult him and had brought two fowls. The magician was dancing frantically; gesticulating wildly; rattling furiously a dry gourd with noisy seeds within and beating madly the air with a wild cat's tail. He wore a pair of antelope horns as head gear; his face was frightfully streaked with paint and round his loins he wore a leopard skin. As pretext for my visit I asked him for a remedy for the toothache. His modest reply was "White man have no use for black man's remedies: Good for black man: No good for white man." I waived the remedy but pushed all the same my way into the savage museum of our Ganga. It certainly was a magician's den, a hideous collection of unexpected assortments, of unsightly and evil smelling things, without order of any kind; lovely plumage of rare birds broken and dirty, ruffled and stained; skulls of goats, antelope horns, paws of wild cats, hyenas and lions; teeth of every monster of the rivers and the forest; the eye-tooth of the leopard, very efficacious in necromancy; gazelle horns filled with charms, with bits of dead men's bones and sealed with wild bees wax; small bags containing philters;

skins of rats and snakes; misunga or dried fruit of the Baobab, poisonous powders and leaves of venomous plants wherewith to make deadly decoctions; shells, corry shells, scraps and ends of old iron, brass and copper, oily, greasy rags, all kinds of things the Ganga may pick up he puts in his museum and out of them makes gris-gris. Nothing is too repulsive for him. He knows full well that the more repugnant the amulet be the more acceptable it is to the votaries. The sorcerer pretends to possess illimited power in his craft. His charms give victory against visible and invisible enemies, by day or by night: they render invisible and invulnerable, turn aside bullets, bring the game to the hunter's traps and fish to the fisherman's hook. The Ganga can read the future in the bowels of his victims, can chase evil spirits from the body of the sick by introducing another still more powerful, that searches his entrails and scares away the enemy or he sucks him out through the wounds of the injured man: He can charm the thunderbolt, bring rain or sunshine, strike the earth with barrenness or make it fruitful in products. All this he can do in consequence of his pact with the underworld and in virtue of certain ritualistic and esoteric cabalistic signs. My Ganga was just the man to pretend to do all these wonders; he had gone through the rude preparatory puberty rites; he had been initiated in all the secrets of magic; he knew something of astronomical and meteorological phenomena; he was a shrewd crafty man, a keen observer and knew how to profit of fortuitous circumstances. It was said that he had, in times gone by, taken part in human sacrifices and that he was relentless and cruel especially towards the weak and powerless women and slaves.

Magic, with its developments, sorcery, conjuration and enchantment; by its mimicry of religion, of science and even of art; by its lying superstitions, vain observances, taboos and charms has never had any other end in view than to divide up the brotherhood of man. The uninitiated is violently deprived of his equal rights as fellow being and made subservient to the initiated. For this was witchcraft invented. And as if the dread fear of the underworld were not overwhelming enough the magician has craftily organ-

ized around his personality and his dark mysteries, the better to make his work a success and hide more surely his monstrous crimes and human sacrifices, secret societies whose members are bound together by oath and live in the certainty of a cruel death should they ever reveal anything thereto pertaining. It is the pagan way of solving the social problem: men club together in secret to crush other men! The actual savage state of the African is a proof of what magic has done for mankind.

A great deal might still be said to give a satisfactory idea of the field the missionaries of Angola work in. I will but mention two of them for neither time nor competency allow me to do more. It has many times been affirmed that the black has come down to us through ages without annals, without literature, without having constructed a temple or a tomb, and yet has he brought with him two lasting monuments, far more worthy of study and persevering analysis, than the hearsay and impressions of travelers, viz: his language and his laws. These required a legislator of the wisest, that supposes the existence at one time of a cultured people, for it is not only beautiful in construction and harmonious, it is most logical and philosophical.

THE ANGLO-SAXON IN INDIA AND THE PHILIPPINES

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Notwithstanding the apathy existent in the United States with reference to questions of a colonial import, it is impossible for Americans entirely to evade certain responsibilities and problems arising from a possession of tropical dependencies. The prevalent American indifference to such matters does not render them any less real. Indeed, the situation may conceivably be made more complicated by a lack of intelligent public opinion in the dominant state. Apropos of such indifference to foreign affairs, it will be recalled that Mr. Roosevelt wrote, in 1908, to Sir Harry Johnston, concerning the American people, that "this people of ours simply does not understand how things are outside our own boundaries" and "the worst of it is that the educated Northerners are not merely blind, but often malevolently blind, to what goes on." Whether they will or not, the American people must face such questions as: the natural aspirations of the Porto Ricans and Filipinos for a larger measure of self-government; the demands of Alaska for a territorial system of government; and American citizenship for the Filipinos.

The present attitude of the American people toward affairs of a colonial character seems to be the logical reaction from the war-time period with its newspaper jingoism, and its widespread and heated discussion of imperialistic issues. Among the many anti-imperialists, in both public and private life, who sought to warn the country against the consequences incident on the acquisition of tropical colonies, the late Professor W. G. Sumner stood out as a notable example. In his rigorous adherence to truth, he assailed all shams and political inconsistencies, and he pointed out in his characteristically vigorous manner that

the possession of the Philippine Islands would be totally at variance with the foundations of American democracy. "It is a strange incongruity," wrote Professor Sumner, "to utter grand platitudes about the blessings of liberty, etc., which we are going to impart to these people (Filipinos), and to begin by refusing to extend the Constitution over them." Furthermore, he called attention to the fact that "the United States, by its historical origin, its traditions and its principles, is the chief representative of the revolt and reaction against imperialism" which was the very policy the country in a blind haste was about to adopt. The vexatious difficulties met with in the Philippine situation and the hopeless attempt to make political traditions and principles harmonize with actual conditions combined in bringing about a general feeling of disgust with all questions relating to the islands. The country was so tired of the whole affair that, in the words of Professor A. C. Coolidge, "if in 1900 a direct vote could have been taken on the abstract question of the retention or the surrender of the Philippines, it is certain that there would have been a large majority in favor of evacuation."

In Great Britain on the other hand, there is no lack of interest in colonial matters, due in large measure to two main reasons. In the first place, the dense population and limited area of the British Isles have made it increasingly desirable for the Englishman to seek investments for his capital abroad as well as a new home for himself in the undeveloped portions of the Empire. The natural result has been to awaken a vital interest in all colonial questions having an Empire complexion. In the second place, the remarkable expansion of British dominions during the past three hundred years has brought about a situation in which the British Isles form but an insignificant fraction of the total area of the Empire and contain approximately only about one-eighth of the inhabitants living under the British flag. Therefore, the very existence of the Empire imposes on the Englishman the necessity of thoroughly acquainting himself with all issues relating, howsoever indirectly, to the colonies.

The experience of the two Anglo-Saxon nations in the Philippines and India, their great Eastern dependencies, affords an interesting colonial study. There is a general similarity of difficulties and problems to be overcome by Americans and Englishmen, although, to be sure, the Indian situation presents such problems on a vaster scale. Both powers through their acquisition of these colonies have become important factors in the Asiatic situation. The United States, as has been said of England, has "blundered into some of the best places on the globe." Despite the general similarity of circumstances, however, attending their efforts and although the eventual intention of the two powers is for the most part identical, the United States boldly adopted a colonial policy a decade ago which was quite unique in the history of tropical colonization. This step was the more surprising when it is borne in mind that the United States, a newcomer in the field of overseas colonization, did not take as its model the example of the British in India or the Dutch in Java, but preferred to break new ground.

Probably the most frequently noted contrast in the policies adopted by Britain and the United States in their common endeavor to justly direct the destinies of their dependent peoples is to be found in the administrative ideals they have set before themselves. The avowed intention of the United States is to develop a self-governing community out of a people lacking a present aptitude for self-government; and this is to be accomplished by education and by the employment of Filipinos in the service of the government as rapidly as possible, even to the extent of sacrificing administrative efficiency. The British ideal on the other hand is an absolutely impartial and thoroughly efficient government, with the result that until recent times the higher and even intermediate government posts have been filled for the most part by Englishmen. And it is unquestionably true that England has succeeded in evolving in India a colonial system of government which may be regarded as a model of administrative efficiency.

The American idea of the importance of education as a

solution of the problems of controlling and developing the islands was revealed by President Taft, when Secretary of War, in an article to the *Churchman* in October, 1904. "The chief difference," he declared, "between their (the English and Dutch) policy and ours, in the treatment of tropical people, arises from the fact that we are seeking to prepare the people under our guidance and control for popular self-government. We are attempting to do this, first, by primary and secondary education offered freely to all the Filipino people Our chief object is to develop the people into a self-governing people, and in doing that popular education is, in our judgment, the first and most important means." It should be stated, however, that the actual extent of educational work in the Philippines is not extraordinary and unique as the above quotation leaves the reader to infer. As a matter of fact the British tropical colonies are invariably provided with up-to-date educational systems and in several of the British dependencies the proportion of school enrolment to the total population is higher than it is in the Philippines. But the essential point in this connection is that while the American has looked upon education as the most important step in the development of the capacity of self-government, the Englishman has regarded it as merely a contributory factor in the process. The English have rather placed the main emphasis on economic development, believing that economic and not educational factors are the primary elements in political evolution.

With the organization of civil government by the Taft Commission, education was made the main feature of the administration. The Bureau of Education was organized by law in 1901, and the engagement of a thousand American teachers really established a new standard in the relations of a colonial government and its subject population. During the decade since the educational policy was inaugurated, certain encouraging results have shown themselves. In 1910 there were throughout the islands 4295 primary schools, 198 intermediate, 35 arts and trades, 12 agricultural, 30 domestic science, and 38 provincial high schools. Each one of the 36 school divisions, into which the archipelago

is divided, is in charge of an American superintendent. In all, there are approximately 900 American and 6000 Filipino teachers. All primary teaching is done by these Filipinos, a great part of whom are graduates of the normal and high schools. Not only are they trained and qualified to become instructors in a foreign language (English) but they have been rendered competent to teach the common primary branches, industrial work, hygiene, simple domestic science, local government and village improvement, gardening, and agriculture. At present over 450,000 children are receiving free public instruction and it is conceivable that another two or three decades, with their advancing general enlightenment, will unify the entire archipelago by a common tongue and by a native journalism expressing itself in English and intelligible to every class. Already more people speak and write English than any other language or dialect, which fact in itself is eloquent evidence of the success of American educational methods.

The social consequences of such public instruction are also notable. During the Spanish régime certain remarkable advances were made in civilization and culture, but these advantages were confined to a small class of the population. Now, however, a great middle class is forming. It is furnishing a large part of the teachers and through the system of competitive examinations, it is gaining control of the civil service. The modern forms of industry, railroading, telegraphs and telephones, mail service, and commercial business are filled by the Filipino youth educated in the public schools established during the American occupation. The young people from the poor and unlettered masses, given the advantages of education, are forcing themselves upward. Even the agricultural peasantry are being affected and are no longer wholly subservient to a dominant proprietary class.

The second great factor, from the American point of view, in the evolution of the Filipinos into an intelligent, self-governing people is an active participation in the actual practice of self-government. It is believed that the exercise of political power is the best possible political education.

Therefore the principle of popular government has been widely extended and now runs through all the political institutions of the Philippines. The municipal councils and presidents are elective and so are two of the three members of the provincial boards, including the provincial governor. On June 30, 1910, there were 38 provinces and over 1000 municipalities and townships in the archipelago. Over 72 per cent of all provincial offices and 99 per cent of the municipal offices were occupied by Filipinos. The municipal and provincial governments are practically autonomous and they afford therefore a fair basis for observing the capacity of the Filipinos to conduct, even on a minor scale, their own public affairs. In general, the provincial governments, with certain exceptions, have not been strikingly successful in the management of their finances or in the maintenance of highways, which are two of the most important duties committed to them. The municipal governments likewise have been guilty of certain shortcomings. They have frequently appropriated public moneys from their local treasuries for purposes not in keeping with the ideal of an efficient and just administration. The municipal police force furthermore has been said to be a disgrace, save in the city of Manila. It has been regarded as a "perquisite" of the municipal president, to which he has been wont to appoint his political henchmen and indigent relatives. In short, the United States has given to the Filipinos the fullest and fairest opportunity to manage their own local affairs in the belief that although mistakes in abundance may be made, the political training so afforded will greatly outweigh the resultant inefficiency in the government. In this connection, the Hon. Morgan Shuster, recently Secretary of Public Instruction for the Philippine Islands, has said that "the mistake, if any there be, has been in giving them more than they could assimilate, rather than too little."

In 1908, Mr. Taft, as Secretary of War, presented a special report on the Philippines in which he stated that the result of the American policy with respect to municipal government in the islands, with all its shortcomings, has vindi-

cated the course taken. Gradually the idea that a public office is a public trust is being implanted in the Filipino mind, and slowly but surely the old inherited political ideas and traditions are being eradicated. "While the policy adopted does not secure the best municipal government," declares President Taft, "which might be secured under American agents, it does provide a fairly good government, with a training and experience and educational influence upon the people which is slowly but progressively curing the defects incident to a lack of political training and proper political ideals."

The determination to afford opportunities for political training has also exhibited itself in the organization and maintenance of the central government. This is shown in the appointment of four Filipinos to constitute four-ninths of the Philippine Commission, which forms the upper house of the legislature. The Philippine Assembly, the lower house, is entirely elective and its 81 members are naturally all Filipinos. In the executive departments the important portfolio of finance and justice is held by a Filipino. Three of the seven justices of the Supreme Court, including the Chief Justice thereof, are Filipinos, 10 of the 20 judges of first instance, and practically all the lower judicial officers are natives. The two delegates from the Philippine Islands holding seats in the House of Representatives at Washington are Filipinos. Furthermore, an opportunity is given to the natives to enter the civil service under a law embodying the merit system.

An examination of the civil service reveals certain noteworthy facts. In keeping with the American principle of extending political privileges to the Filipinos, as rapidly as it may be practicable to do so, statistics show that the number of native government officials has grown consistently during the ten years since the establishment of civil government. In 1901, there were 2044 American and 2562 Filipino civil servants in the islands, while in 1910 the numbers were 2633 and 4649 respectively. To be sure, most of the higher offices, carrying with them responsibility and power, as well as higher salaries, are filled by Americans. This

fact gives rise to complaint on the part of the advocates of a rapid Filipinization of the civil service, as their eyes appear to be fixed on the higher salaried positions. A second point to note in connection with this phase of the administration is the manner of entry into the service; for, after all, one of the most important questions relating to the government of tropical dependencies is that of the selection of the officials who are to carry into effect the measures of the government. It would be better that the government policy be unsound and its execution be placed in the hands of capable administrators than that wise and benevolent measures be committed to incompetent officials.

An avowed purpose of the American administration is "the maintenance of an efficient and honest civil service in all the executive branches of the government of the Philippine Islands." The effort is made to secure this end by providing that all positions in the "classified service" (which includes all the offices in the upper grades of the service) must be filled as a result of competitive examinations. The most difficult tests are the examinations for the so-called "assistants," who are drafted into positions above the lower grades, in which special clerical ability, or professional, technical, or scientific qualifications are required. Such an examination comprises certain required subjects and others that are optional. Among others, in the compulsory list, are: The writing of a thesis of 300 to 400 words on a given topic; correction of a rough draft manuscript of 200 words; history and civil government of the United States; general history and geography; political economy; and mathematics (arithmetic, algebra and plane geometry). For the other positions in the "classified service" the educational tests are much less difficult. In no case do the examinations involve more than a thorough high school training. This fact is quite in harmony with the declared policy of the United States; the desire being to afford access to the Filipinos into the public service of their country by a system of only moderately difficult intellectual tests.

The Indian civil service stands out in sharp contrast to that in the Philippines. The British have aimed at adminis-

trative efficiency pure and simple, even, in the past, to the virtual exclusion of natives from the service. To be sure, in recent years, a large and increasing number of Indians have secured civil appointments, many of which have been offices of power. This condition is not due to a waning desire on the part of the British to preserve the cherished traditions of the service, but rather to the ability of the Indians who have successfully met the required tests. The various requirements, educational and otherwise, are so searching that to meet them satisfactorily is sufficient evidence of the ability and character of the candidate, be he Englishman or Hindu.

Writing of the severity of the Indian civil service examinations, President Lowell of Harvard has said: "The examination papers are such as might be set in an American university for graduation honors, or for a Ph.D. But it must be remembered that they are prepared by men who have nothing to do with the instruction of the candidates, and hence are really more difficult than similar papers, set by a professor to his own students, would be in America." In support of this statement of an impartial critic, it is only necessary to refer to a few extracts, from the syllabus of the civil service of India, which show the extent of work required in the preliminary examination in a few of the subjects which may be selected by the competitors. In the examination in English language, for instance, a general acquaintance is required with the works of Chaucer, Langland, Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, Pope, Collins, Goldsmith, Crabbe, Cowper, Wordsworth, Scott, Byron, Keats, Shelley, Coleridge, Bacon, Bunyan, Swift, Defoe, Addison, Burke and Macaulay. In the paper on Political Science questions may be based on analytical jurisprudence, theory of legislation, early institutions, comparative politics, and history of political theories.

From the candidates who pass the preliminary examination there are selected, in the order of merit, as many as are required for the vacant posts in the service. The selected candidates are then put on probation for one year, after which they are examined in certain compulsory subjects

relating specifically to Indian law and judicial procedure and to the principal vernacular languages of the various provinces to which the candidates are assigned.

Such difficulty and thoroughness of the examinations can be defended on the ground that the Indian civil service, which is a lifelong career, must be closed to men who having failed in other vocations might, as a last resort, seek a government post in India. The civil servant is required to begin his career young, the age limit for the examinations being twenty-four; and sufficient inducements are offered to attract into the life some of the most desirable and promising youth of both Great Britain and India. It is not surprising, therefore, that there appears to be a notable unanimity of opinion among foreign observers and critics that in respect of character, integrity, and intelligence, the Indian civil service can challenge comparison with that of any other country in the world. Leroy-Beaulieu, the leading French authority on colonies, laments a practice of his countrymen of selecting colonial officials from the home administrative service, and sending them to the colonies as a step in the line of their advancement. He would imitate the British policy of treating the colonial administration as a distinct and permanent service upon which the broadest culture which the mother country can produce is brought to bear.

The Indian civil service proper consists of barely 1200 men, of whom approximately 100 are Indians, the remainder being Englishmen. There are also the provincial and subordinate services which, recruited in India, give employment to over 1,250,000 Indians and about 6000 Englishmen. Not the least important achievement of British rule has been the building up of a great body of Indian public servants capable of rising to offices of great trust. This is instanced by the fact that two members of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, one member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, or Cabinet, and many of the judges of the highest courts in the country are Indians.

If a study of the relative efficiency of the existing administrations in the Philippines and India reveals a superiority

in the British policy, there is just as marked an advantage in favor of the system of education established by the United States in the Philippine Islands. As already mentioned, the American ideal has been to build up, as the first real step towards intelligent self-government, an educated Philippine people through the agency of primary and secondary schools. On the other hand, there have been certain lamentable deficiencies in the system of education introduced by the British into India. The Indian government has concentrated its efforts mainly upon higher education and has thus begun from the top in the over-sanguine belief that it would ultimately filter down from the higher to the lower strata of Indian society. Furthermore, education has generally been confined to the training of the intellect and has been divorced very largely from moral training and discipline with the result that the formation of character has been almost entirely neglected.

Such a system, in the words of Mr. Valentine Chirol in his illuminating volume, entitled *Indian Unrest*, "tends on the one hand to create a semi-educated proletariat, unemployed and largely unemployable, and on the other hand, even where failure is less complete, to produce dangerous hybrids, more or less superficially imbued with Western ideas, and at the same time more or less completely divorced from the realities of Indian life."

In still another respect the policy of the United States, the newcomer in the realm of colonial politics, stands out as a distinct advance over that of Britain in India. The old conception, once universally held, that the controlling state might legitimately exploit its dependencies has been quite generally superseded by the idea of "the white man's burden." This idea, until recently held to in India by England is, in its essence, the ruling of a colony permanently in its own best interests, though against its wishes. Such a policy, in turn, is now giving place, however, to that introduced by the United States in the Philippine Islands—a program which aims to control the dependency only so long as it may be necessary to train properly the inhabitants in the art of efficient self-government.

This avowed and benevolent attitude of the United States towards the Filipino is nowhere better illustrated than by the policy relating to Chinese immigration. It is notorious that there is, and has been for a decade, a loud outcry for the admission of Chinese laborers in order that the "development of the islands" might proceed, inasmuch as the inefficiency of Filipino laborers is an obstacle in the path of economic progress. Were the request granted, however, for an unrestricted immigration of Chinese into the islands, an injury would be done the natives. The latter would be far less able to compete successfully in the open labor market with the industrious, ambitious, and cheaply-living Chinese than even the workman of the United States. If the Chinaman, possessing many traits which are lacking in the Filipino, were given free entry into the Philippines, his arrival would undoubtedly seriously prejudice the economic welfare of the native peoples, although it cannot be denied that prosperity would accrue to the islands. It is much to the credit of the American authorities that they have resisted all efforts to secure the introduction of Chinese coolies. In general the British policy in the East favors freedom of immigration as may be illustrated by the example of Singapore. In that great commercial center a major part of the commerce, industry, and real estate is in the hands of Chinese, who, so far as that city is concerned, are an immigrant race. But while there is a remarkable degree of economic prosperity in Singapore, the natives in no small measure have gradually been pushed to the wall by their more ambitious and industrious Chinese competitors.

The non-exploitation policy of the United States is exemplified also in connection with the regulations governing the sale of public lands. The organic act passed by Congress in 1902 contains a provision forbidding the sale of more than forty acres of land to an individual and of more than 2500 acres to a corporation. The law, which is an enduring monument to Senator Hoar, aimed expressly to prevent that capitalistic exploitation of the islands, which, it was believed, would otherwise have been inevitable. Since the proper cultivation of sugar and tobacco requires estates of

15,000 to 20,000 acres each, the act of 1902 has had the effect of retarding agricultural development on a large scale. Repeated recommendations have been made officially by government authorities to amend the public lands clause of the 1902 act to the effect that the limitation on land acquisition should be very considerably increased.

The attitude of the Filipino people toward this question was concisely stated in a memorandum, dated September 1, 1910, presented to the American Secretary of War on behalf of both political parties in the Philippine Islands. "We resolutely set ourselves," declared the petition, "against a wider extension of the lands of public domain that may be sold to private parties or corporations. We also wish that such opinion prevail in connection with the sale of the friar estates."

Notwithstanding the benevolent intentions and many successful policies common to both the Americans and the British in their Oriental dependencies, both have been guilty of a measure of self-interest in respect to tariff arrangements. No measure has done more permanent discredit to British rule in India than the excise duty on Indian manufactured cotton, for none has done more to undermine Indian faith in the principles of justice upon which British rule claims, and, on the whole, most legitimately claims, to be based. Because of a small import duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent upon cotton goods, a countervailing excise duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent upon Indian cotton manufactures is imposed in disregard of Indian public opinion, and solely in behalf of the cotton manufacturers of Lancashire. Similarly, in the tariff relations between the United States and the Philippine Islands, the self-interest of the dominant state exhibits itself. Although the economic welfare of the islands would demand the free admission of Philippine sugar and tobacco into the United States, restrictions have been placed on such importations, out of deference to the sugar and tobacco interests of the parent state. To be sure, a concession was tardily granted through the Payne tariff act of August, 1909, by which it was provided that certain specified quantities of Philippine sugar, wrapper and filler tobacco, and cigars

may be imported free of duty, while all of such commodities imported in excess of the legal limitation must be subject to duty. On the other hand, the Philippine Islands are required to admit free of duty the products of the United States and to refrain from levying export duties on Philippine products admitted free to the United States.

In conclusion, it should be urged that, despite many differences, the problem confronting the two Anglo-Saxon nations in India and the Philippine Islands is identical in its essence. Although the policy of the United States is supposedly more benevolent and attractive to the native, inasmuch as the avowed ideal is self-government for the Filipino, it must not be overlooked that Great Britain is, in reality, proceeding along similar lines and is dimly looking forward to the same eventuality. The problems which the Englishman faces in India are on a much vaster scale than those in the Philippines. India contains a population more than thirty times as large as that of the latter dependency, and it possesses a greater multiplicity of races, languages, and religions. In India, furthermore, there exists the institution of caste, with its lamentable and disintegrating results. The American in the Philippines, however, is no less an object of native dislike than the Englishman in India. It appears to be the common lot of all colonial powers to have to endure the suspicion and resentment of their dependent peoples. And that this spirit of opposition is not due merely to a difference in race and the color of skin is well illustrated by the animosity felt by the Koreans towards the Japanese. The Englishman and American, despite many difficulties, are seeking to fulfil the demands of their national conscience by extending to their colonial peoples the enjoyment of self-government, which exotic though it be, has been believed by the Anglo-Saxon to be possible of realization in India and the Philippine Islands.

CHINA AND HER RÔLE IN HUMAN HISTORY

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1. Not so very many years ago the thought uppermost in the mind not only of the average citizen of these United States, but in that also of many a one whose position and intelligence entitled him to a rank near the top, was the notion of the poet, who had seen in the goldfields of California an infinitesimal fraction of the many-millioned Celestial Empire:

Which I wish to remark,
And my language is plain,
That, for ways that are dark
And for tricks that are vain,
The heathen Chinee is peculiar.”

These lines of “Truthful James” were quoted with undisguised approval almost everywhere. In our picture-gallery of peoples other than ourselves we promptly hung up this portrait of our yellow trans-Pacific neighbor, right next to that of the red fellow-occupant of our own continent, “Lo! the poor Indian,” we jestingly called him. As we had been content to consider the latter, after the word of another poet, who knew nothing at all of him except from hearsay,

A stoic of the woods,—a man without a tear,

so we now accepted for the yellow man this caricature of “the heathen Chinee” with his “peculiar” equipment of “ways that are dark and tricks that are vain,” quite forgetting in so doing, the frailties, which, somehow or other, are still incident to the business of being a white man. Recently, however, we have had our eyes opened, rather wide

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sometimes (and, once or twice, the operation has been almost surgical, if not quite so), to the rather "peculiar" conduct of "Christian Americans," and we are not quite so cock-sure these days that "ways that are dark and tricks that are vain" are, in any sense, a peculiarly Oriental product, unable to flourish in properly accredited Anglo-Saxon soil.

The revelations of the past ten or fifteen years in particular, in which no political party and no section of the country have come forth unscathed: The doings of Democratic Tammany in New York and of the Republican Machines in Pennsylvania and Ohio; the crimes of the Standard Oil and other trusts, throughout the land; the official corruption, if not worse, laid bare in Washington itself—these things, both in themselves, and for what they suggest as probable or possible, have made us less eager to link together indissolubly heathenism and all that is evil among men. And, then, too, lest we forget, we have come to think a little more of the heathen as such, since the Japanese gave the Russians such a terrible beating right under our noses.

We are perfectly ready, at the present moment, to make all needed distinctions between heathen that are good and heathen that are bad, and speak more politely, than we have hitherto been wont to do, of their manners, their institutions, their ideals. We are even willing to admit that the "heathen may have something to say in shaping the current of the world's history in the centuries to come; and that the Anglo-Saxon map of the globe for 3000 A. D. is, perhaps, to encounter very serious modification. We have also confessed that the prospect of having for a considerable time great heathen neighbors is not nearly so shocking, or so nerve-wrecking, as once it appeared to us, and that, under the circumstances, we shall be able to get along very comfortably with so many millions of yellow heathen taking such a deep interest in world-affairs as they have lately developed and enjoying to the uttermost their new rôle.

2. The world of white men has seriously misjudged the significance of the antiquity of China. The mistake has been made of confusing long life with fossildom and decrep-

itude. A poet-laureate of England, in our own day and generation, has assured us

Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay,
and a President of the United States has not hesitated to incorporate in an official document his fear that, if certain policies were to be adopted, the Republic would relapse into the "condition of China." And our phrase-makers generally, whenever they have wished to picture the country as reduced to the depths of utter stagnation and involved in social and political torpidity, premonitory of national and racial extinction, have all used China as the basis for odious comparison. Of the age of China we have spoken even more disrespectfully than of its heathenism. To be sure, China is old. We can add together the epoch of the Saxon, counting back from the strenuous Roosevelt to the Germanic tribes who conquered Britain when abandoned by the Romans, the era of the Eternal City, from the time of the decadent Caesars to the date of its wolf-suckled founders in the eighth century, B. C., and the magnificent epoch of Hellenic achievements lying far beyond that in its first developments of art, letters, and science,—in fact all

The glory that was Greece
And the grandeur that was Rome,—

and still find China with a history that can have companionship only in those earlier human civilizations that flourished on the banks of the Nile and by the rivers of Babylon.

Today, Nineveh and Babylon have vanished utterly, their place knows them no more; the native civilization of Egypt has perished long ages since, and, in the shadow of the Pyramids stands the fellah, with the foreigner dominant everywhere, ruling the land with the ideals of another race; Greece is "living Greece no more," except for her past, she counts as nothing in the great currents of human history; Rome has sought, physically and intellectually, to rule the world and failed egregiously in both cases—she has become a city of Italy ceasing to be the metropolis of

earth. All these changes China has seen and she is yet alive and destined to be alive millenniums hence. Nor must it be forgotten that, from the dim beginnings of prehistoric China down to the present time, it has been essentially the genius of the yellow race that has shaped its destinies and been responsible for its achievements—even the "Manchu conquerors" were yellow. And during all her existence China has been a land swarming with human beings. This combination of great population, continuity of race, and historical long-life has been the strength of China, both actually and potentially. Its equal is to be met with nowhere else on the globe. A people so constituted and numbering a quarter of all earth's human inhabitants, are in no danger, immediate or even remote, of dying out or degenerating altogether. China is old, but she is neither decrepid nor degenerate; she is on the whole, both physically and intellectually, remarkably sound. With her there are no signs that

Old age comes on space to ravage all the clime.

We can almost say of China, considering its historical experiences, that it is "not of an age, but for all time." As our judgment of China must extend backward over the most important epochs of human history, so it must likewise include in its scope all the ages yet to come. It is not beyond the bounds of human possibilities that the people who have lived on past Babylon and Egypt, past Greece, and Rome, may yet be existing, when the wearied hand of the Anglo-Saxon and his tired brain shall have sunk to rest, leaving the perfection of human society to the genius of another race.

3. We have had our fling, too, at the physical constitution of the Oriental, "Truthful James" made famous Ah Sin,

With his smile that was childlike and bland,

and, for most people, the childlikeness of the yellow man has been of a rather facetious order, when, indeed, it did not content itself with expressing the sense of inferiority enter-

tained by the "higher" race for the "lower." Both physically and intellectually, the Orientals were "children" as compared with the white man, the Anglo-Saxon, in particular, whom nature had endowed with all the faculties of individual and racial manhood. The "blandness" of the Oriental has probably been of considerable service as an evolutional factor of survival, for one of the most effective weapons in certain provinces of race-contact is "smiling the Christian down," as Kipling has so aptly phrased it. The "American face," of which physicians at home and laymen from abroad now speak so frequently, with its numerous subordinate varieties, the "bicycle face," the "auto face," the "gymnasium face," the "foot-ball face," the "Wall-Street face," the "school-teacher face," the "society face," and other reflexions of our nervous and strenuous life, making themselves visible in our physiognomy, are hardly compensated for by the "smile that won't come off," which is occasionally met with amongst us. We can learn something from the Oriental right here.

The childlikeness of the yellow race has a deeper significance than the poet-humorist dreamed of. It has, if we believe some very able ethnologists, an important scientific meaning. Professor Ranke, the eminent German anthropologist, years ago, expressed the opinion that the so-called "Mongolian" race approached nearest of all varieties of mankind to the "ideal type" as seen in the human child, which, physically, as well as otherwise, is "the father of the man." And some of the foremost of American and European ethnologists and anthropologists, hold the view that the white race may be only a modification of the Mongolian type. If these views are correct, the line of descent of the "heathen Chinee" is just as human as our own, and the Oriental and the Occidental really belong together, instead of lying infinitely far apart. Their past history would guarantee the future of the two races, should they ever decide to pool their physical and their intellectual genius for the greater glory of mankind. Physically, there is nothing to hinder, and intellectually there can certainly be no bars set up. In China one will find old men of as fine a

type from the merely physical point of view as can be met with in any other part of the globe, and it would seem as if the long life of the people historically was in part reflected in certain splendid developments of individual existence, to foster which, and to make it include woman as well as man (and the new tide of progress now on the flood is pledged to this) must be the unremitting labor of Chinese reformers and statesmen. From the type represented by the Chinese may, perhaps, be evolved the real human type of the future, the white race having varied too far both physically and mentally from the generic stock.

4. Much, perhaps, altogether too much, has been made of the "isolation" of China. Besides the actual "Chinese wall," of very material form and construction, there have been conjured up many others of a mental or an intellectual character, which have been made to do yeoman service in the misinterpretation of the history of Chinese civilization and its relations with the rest of the world. Some would have us believe that a waif from prehistoric Babylonia wandered eastward and got lost completely beyond the Altai and the Himalayas, where its descendants continued for millenniums to flourish in unexampled and uninterfered-with isolation, disconnected, as it were, with the great human happenings elsewhere upon earth. But such perfection of segregation has been practically impossible since the early ages of human civilization, especially when the people involved have been very numerous at all important epochs of their history. Recent investigations, and others still going on, have made it clear that no barrier like the "Chinese wall" existed in those earlier days when history was being "made" both in Europe and in Asia. Humanly, there are limits to "isolation" as an evolutional factor, no matter what may be the races or the culture-phenomena concerned. Undoubtedly, from rather remote times, the Occident has influenced China and China has been influenced by the Occident. Münsterberg and others may go too far in tracing in the ceramic and related art of ancient China evidences of Mycenaean and pre-Mycenaean elements dating back to the third millennium B. C.; and Laufer is certainly right in

refusing to see the existence of correspondingly early Assyrian influences in primitive Chinese art. One must be careful not to resort to such theories here before thorough-going investigations have exhausted the possibilities of the Chinese home-land, and, particularly, the ancient Siberian art forms and types. Much that some are too ready to assign a foreign origin to may be accounted for as developments and variations of the prehistoric and early historic art of the type belonging in common to the old Mongolian and perhaps proto-Mongolian peoples of Northern Asia. As one approaches the later Greek and Roman times the evidences of contact between China and the Occident are both numerous and significant, and many culture-borrowings must have taken place on both sides, since commercial relations were undoubtedly established long previous to the Christian era between the Chinese and the cities and states of Central Asia that formed a sort of clearing-house for Orient and Occident. The interesting embassy of General Shan-Shien to the Grecko-Bactrian cities of the region of the Oxus, in the reign of the Emporer Wu-ti (141–86 B.C.) had its predecessors and its successors. With Grecko-Bactrian and Grecko-Indian times we reach a period of real influence of the Occident upon the art, literature and religion of China. And since the Aryans of India are not indigenous to that country, but wandered thither from the primitive home of the stock somewhere in Europe, the Buddhistic elements in Chinese civilization have had, in part at least an Occidental origin. One must exclude, of course, those elements of Hindu culture transmitted to China, which are due altogether to the Oriental environment of this branch of the Aryan stock. The earlier culture-relations existing between Western and Eastern Asia seem to have been seriously interrupted by the appearance in the steppe-country of Central Asia of nomadic and warlike peoples, who subsequently became more or less of a terror to both China and the Occident. It thus happened that some of the less ancient culture-acquisitions of both these regions of the globe failed to pass from one to the other, at least for productive assimilation, until quite recent times. In this Central

Asiatic region, a number of culture-phenomena may have developed, which, later on, both Oriental and Occidental civilizations possessed themselves of. Hahn, e.g., is of opinion that it was in the Persian-Bactrian area that the domestication of the hen took place, but it must be remembered that this bird is mentioned distinctly in Chinese annals as early as the fourteenth century B.C.—and all the hen-family, as is well known, go back to the region of Southeastern Asia, that origin being indicated, in fact, by the very names of some of more recent varieties, such as Brahma, Cochin Chinas, Bantams, etc. China, itself, has furnished us the Shanghai in our own day, and other sorts are probably directly or indirectly derived from thence. From China has come quite recently the Peking duck, and the domestic duck itself appears much earlier in the Extreme East than in the Occident and may have passed from the former to the latter. The so-called swan-goose from which the geese of Southern Russia are partly descended is of special Chinese origin. Certain useful plants and fruits probably belong here also (such, e.g., as the apricot, the date-plum—and possibly even rice and sugar). This Central Asiatic country has also been the scene of great activity in certain ornamental and industrial arts, particularly those connected with such textile products as carpets, rugs, tapestry of all kinds, the manufacture and use of paper and other like materials, which in China took on such large proportions, and where, probably, some at least, if not many of them, were really invented. It is in connection with the impression of marks and patterns upon pottery, textile fabrics, etc., from blocks of wood, etc., wherein they were cut as a solid piece, that the invention of printing in China is to be accounted for, and at the same time an explanation found for the failure to develop, at an early epoch, the idea of employing individual, movable type, which may also be due partly to the nature of Chinese writing itself. It is not true that the art of printing, as the Occident now possesses it, was borrowed from China, although the early history of printing is by no means clear, especially in the Western Orient. Whatever influence China may have exerted upon this,

perhaps the most important of all the recent acquisitions of our human race, it is now certain that the art of printing with individual, movable types, which so soon spread throughout civilized Europe, was invented by a Dutchman (Gutenberg came shortly afterwards) in about 1440 A.D. In the case of certain human inventions, it would seem as if we must be prepared to admit the possibility of their appearance quite independently in different parts of the globe, in some of their phases at least. The Turkestan region, according to Laufer, is the place of origin of spectacles, which spread thence west to Europe and east to China. There are, however, many things in our Occidental civilization, our possession of which, since they are undoubtedly the product of Chinese genius, proves that her "isolation" in the past has not inhibited her power to add to the general stock of human culture-material. There is silk, without which our ladies would have "nothing to wear," and this the world owes to China, where the cultivation of the silk-worm is very ancient. Ceramic art would be deficient, indeed, without what it has borrowed from China for the use and the pleasure of mankind. One need only mention porcelain and *china*—here the very name of the country has become with us a common, household word. We have also that with which *china* goes, *tea*, now a world-wide drink, whose Oriental origin is indicated by the Chinese name it still bears among Occidental peoples.

In China were also invented certain things which now loom exceedingly large in the industry and commerce of the world, but which, in that country, at the time of their acquisition by Occidental peoples, had not been put to serious and extensive material service, being still under the domination of the play-instinct so characteristic of some of the expressions of racial life in the Orient. Such, e.g., are gunpowder and the mariner's compass, the last of which so long remained in China a toy, and the first of which kept the scope we have rather rudely extended in celebrating the Fourth of July, for fire-crackers, rather than cannon, were the chief things served by his invention in the land of its birth. Unfortunately, at the present moment, Western civilization is

engaged in the unholy task of initiating the millions of China into the manifold uses of gunpowder as an implement of human warfare and destruction—a crime against which men's hearts and souls ought to rise in indignant and successful protest. This is even worse than the deadly scourge of opium for whose long prevalence in China European civilization is so largely and so wickedly responsible. And then there is British rum and American whisky and their disease-bringing train! We shall need to be inordinately clever at undoing the work of our own hands, if we do not wish to see the chronicles of the future record the shameful fact that the twentieth century gifts of Occidental civilization to that of the Orient, were as evil in their consequences as China's earlier contributions to the civilization of the West were good.

5. Belonging to the yellow race, the Chinese have a certain inherent cosmopolitanism and power of adaptation. Whether the yellow race had anything to do with the ancient civilization of Mesopotamia (some authorities regard the "pre-Semitic Sumerians" as Mongolian) may well be doubted, and its presence in prehistoric and early historic Central and Western Europe cannot now be believed in as formerly. But in Asia, proper, Asia that is not Europe, it has been from time immemorial the dominant race, and from thence it has extended into parts of Eastern Europe, where its representatives are still to be found in very large numbers. Some reputable ethnologists consider both the American Indians and the Malayo-Polynesians to be modified forms of the yellow race. If this be true, and the contention of Ranke and others be correct as well, the yellow race, by reason of its generic humanness, its great antiquity, and its wide extension, is capable of transmitting to its members some of the most useful elements of cosmopolitanism and adaptivity, which are sure to come into play at the psychological moment, (cf. the recent history of Japan), however long it may take them to make themselves apparent to Occidental eyes and minds. This characteristic, to a less degree, is also to be discovered in some of the Siberian peoples of the yellow race, who have never developed the great

civilizations created by their kindred in Eastern and South-eastern Asia, such, *e.g.*, as the Golds of the Amur, the Buriats of the Transbaikal, the Bashkirs and Astrakhan Tatars of European Russia. Nor must we forget the contributions of the yellow race in the Finns, the Magyars of Hungary and the Turks, with all of whom their distinctly Siberian languages are now the principal evidence of their Asiatic origins. Better than the Turk whose blood, like that of the others, is so mixed with that of the white race, the Finn and the Magyar have become more or less thoroughly Europeanized and have entered into the general current of the life and activities of the white race as such in that part of the world. The Lapps, of extreme Northern Scandinavia and the adjacent part of European Russia, who have mingled to some extent with the whites of that region, belong to the yellow race. And there is growing up in certain regions of European Russia and Siberia a large population of mixed bloods, the result of the contact of whites from Europe with the numerous aboriginal tribes and peoples still existing in that vast area.

One may thus credit the yellow race with being as capable of globe-wandering as is our own. And this cosmopolitan trait of the whole race appears also in the individual Chinaman, as the last fifty years has abundantly shown. He is now found industrially employed all over the habitable globe. In the Philippines his appearance ante-dates that of the whites; and all Australasia is now worrying, as once did we in America, over the "yellow peril" in its midst. Hawaii has long known the Chinese, and over all North America, from the palatial dwellings of California millionaires to the gold-mines of frozen Alaska, and from the hotels of Vancouver to the great Universities of New England, they are to be met with, lessening the sum of human toil for another race, or adding to the bounds of human knowledge for their own. All South America knows them, and in the southern end of the dark continent they have long been among the hewers of wood and the drawers of water, whose toil has made possible the life of the white man in that far-off land. But the higher reaches of commerce and industry have like-

wise been touched by the yellow race, and Chinese merchant-princes are to be found far beyond the limits of the Celestial Empire in both the Old World and the New.

6. Another notable character of the yellow race, as exhibited in the Chinese in particular, is a certain religious tolerance which may mean much for future participation in world-ideas and world-affairs. The Chinese have never burned witches in the name of God; they have never erected a religious inquisition with power over both church and state; they have never destroyed primitive civilizations as zealots of some special faith; and they have not, as Christian Russia has even now, laws forbidding men to change their religion when they will. At a period even, when the great Christian sects could not tolerate one another in the different monarchies of Europe, China saw enter her domains representatives of all the creeds and philosophies of the times, and the gracious welcome lasted until the desire for political control seized upon the messengers of the gospel and made them no longer the loyal citizens but the plotting enemies of the state. Before the Christians of our day and generation, China had tolerated Buddhists and Parsees, Mazdeans and Manichaeans, Nestorians and Jews, Catholics and Mohammedans, etc. A country with a history like this can hardly be styled intolerant and religiously bigoted, particularly by a people whose skirts in such matters are no clearer than those of the white race in America and in Europe. Had it not been for the demand of the representatives of Catholic Christianity in China, centuries ago, that the political authorities of the land should recognize the temporal power of the Pope, the official approval of our religion offered by the Chinese government of the day might, perhaps, have so commended the new faith to the people that, by this time, the adherents of Christianity among the yellow race might have numbered their millions instead of merely their thousands. That immense blunder will take long, long years to retrieve. This race-sense of tolerance finds echo also in the individual, for, as Taoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism exist together in the people at large, they frequently are found dwelling harmoniously together.

in one and the same individual, who has also been not unwilling to take over Christianity as well. It is the fashion in certain quarters to denounce and deride this aspect of the Chinese religious psyche, but they are utterly in the wrong who do so. It is but a reflex of that greater generic humanness which characterizes the yellow race at its best, and is again a factor that must be a powerful element for evolutional survival, when, as soon must be the case, the currents of human history are dominated by the eternally human, and not by the temporarily racial. The great crime of Christian civilization hitherto has been "its jarring sects and warring creeds" and their interferences with the sane and normal tendencies of human progress and human development. If China is ever to become Christian, she must do so in her way, and it would be a catastrophe beyond belief were she to be inflicted with all the useless, nay, rather, harmful, impedimenta and excrescences which we have burdened our faith with since it left the simple Oriental heart of Jesus.

And the great philosophers of China have many points of *rapprochement* with the great teachers of our own race, from him who came so near the doctrine of the Golden Rule to others less known and less influential. In the third century B.C. there was Mencius (Meng-tze) with his theory of the inherent original goodness of human nature, and two hundred years before him Meh-ti who taught of love equal and universal, which found its practical expression in the doing of good deeds for others. The sacred books of the Chinese also, like all the great racial Bibles of the world, contain many things that must belong forever in the treasure-house of all mankind. And wise with the general soul of man are many of the words of the great Confucius.

Of the philosophic conceptions of the Chinese, and of the yellow race elsewhere, it may be said that they involve ideas, such, e.g., as the vastness of the universe, the essential unity of man and nature, the omnipresence of power not necessarily personified or personal, the instinct for reverence, the appeal to reason, the belief in harmony rather than antagonism as the great principle of universal significance, which are well suited to lay the foundations

for the higher and nobler faith that shall one day arise, when the nations of earth really come together as human beings, to live their lives out to the full without the distractions and the misadventures that have hitherto so hampered and so crippled all efforts at true and lasting advancement and development. It is a matter of no little interest here, that the historical legends of the Chinese represent their ancestors as having been rude savages, and the course of human events among them as taking the path of evolution from the lower to the higher. This is in marked contrast with some Occidental peoples, who have begun their history with "lost gods and godlike men."

7. The social life and the political activities of China, past and present, offer several points of great interest in connection with the future development of our human civilization. As a French writer (d'Enjoy) has said quite recently, the Chinese have a special sense for social solidarity—"they are, indeed, born societative, devoted to combination, impassioned for mutuality." Throughout his existence (by family, profession, political ideas, private and public life) the Chinaman is a mutualist, and even beyond death his greatest fear is that of solitude. At the basis of the Chinese social structure is the family, with its reverence for the ancestors of the stock and its profound sense of filial devotion and affection. The one weak feature above all in the Chinese social arrangements is the inferior and needlessly unequal position of woman, but this is rather an incident or accident of historical experience than something altogether inseparable from the race itself. Here China must bow to the inevitable, and let her great generic humanness assert itself vigorously and sympathetically, so that mother, wife and daughter may profit equally with father, son and husband from the rich inheritance handed down from generation to generation by a gifted people, whose genius for human service has hardly yet begun to draw upon its almost infinite resources, and whose material environment awaits so largely the touch of scientific experiment and skilled labor to respond with riches the mere computation of which must stagger the imagination. Let the mil-

lions of China, with family-life more adapted to the highest human ideals, enter the current of the world's history and the foundations of human society will be safe forever.

Another praiseworthy character of the Chinese is their devotion to agriculture and their glorifying of the arts of peace. In the category of great human activities the scholar comes first, the farmer next, the soldier last of all. In spite of the pedantry and mere bookishness, so often and in so many places, associated with learning in China, this emphasis upon the man of letters is, on the whole, sane and righteous in great part, if not altogether. While the whole Western world has gone mad over soldiers and soldiering, the heart of the yellow race in China has kept its mind from running wild in the same direction. This age-long condemnation, by a whole race, of the most unhuman of all arts practiced among men is one of the brightest pages in all human history, and one for which, if monuments were erected to peoples, as well as to individuals, the Chinese would indeed deserve one *aere perennius*. And, some day, such a monument may be erected through the common gratitude and with the unanimous assent of every nation and community of men and women existing upon earth.

And, again, we may note that this recognition of peace as the natural and wholesome condition of mankind, which is the true evolutional and scientific doctrine also, appears elsewhere among the yellow race. If the great temple of peace at The Hague shall sometime have added to it a Hall of Fame one ought to find there the statue of the Emperor Akbar (contemporary of Queen Elizabeth of England), the noblest and wisest of the Mogul rulers of India, a large-minded and large-hearted man, whose vision of the end of strife and warfare among men Tennyson has immortalized in his beautiful poem of "Akbar's Dream."

8. Today the civilized nations of the white race are beginning to see the real evils of war, and the evils almost as great, if not greater, of keeping ready for war, and arbitration-treaties are in the air everywhere, for the common people are at last awakening to a realization of the way in which, even in supposedly democratic lands, like America,

they have been cheated and robbed in order that ideas and institutions, whose very existence is nothing more nor less than an insult to the general intelligence of mankind, should receive new leases of life with every new generation of men and women. What would be more fitting, therefore, what act grace more humanly the opening, in a few years, of the Chinese parliament, representing more human beings than any legislative body throughout all the long history of mankind, than the simple and solemn declaration that China, renewing her ancient condemnation of war as an art to be despised of men, pledges herself unreservedly to the cause of peace, by which, alone, the path lies to the achievement of those hopes and dreams of human brotherhood for which the ages have so long and so vainly striven? And, let every other nation upon earth take the pledge to stand by China in that most human decision! This declaration of a quarter of all the human race in favor of perpetual peace will do more than anything that has yet happened in the world to give the satisfying answer to the question asked by poets, prophets and sages through the centuries:

Ah, when shall all men's good
Be each man's rule, and universal peace
Lie like a shaft of light across the land,
And like a lane of beams athwart the sea,
Thro' all the circle of the golden year?

9. Today we are witnessing the growth of a new spirit among the races of man, a spirit that seeks not to crush individuality, but rather to give it free scope to develop its full powers and faculties for the benefit of all mankind. The progress of one race, or a few only, through the extinction or suppression of the rest, the policy of imperialism, is altogether discredited in the great court of our general humanity. It is now impossible for one race to lay claim to all the achievements of man in the ages that are past, or to think it possesses of itself and in itself the keys to all the future. A white man's world, an Anglo-Saxon's world, must yield to the human world to be born of all races of men together. The idea, created by the white man's stressing

of himself as the master-mind of all the ages and the only productive one, that beneath the cultures of Japan, Korea, China, and all others belonging to the "Mongolian race," lies hidden the inevitable Aryan, is quite fanciful. To discern in the Ainu the Aryan talisman that made modern Japan possible, or in the Miao-tse and other wilder tribes of the mountainous south-west, the unconscious Aryan architects of the Flowery Kingdom, is romance rather than history or science. There has arisen in certain quarters an Aryomania, with a microscopic annex, that ferrets out the microbes and the bacteria of civilization everywhere and finds them all marked with the Aryan family totem. And a prominent American educationalist has even declared that neither Japan nor China will really amount to much in the world until they have taken up the study of Greek and Latin as a mental discipline. Thank heaven, there is not the slightest chance of either of these great peoples ever being guilty of such stupendous folly! Here lies, however, the great danger for China, especially, the ill-judged and persistent attempts of the white race to deck the yellow out in its own cast-off clothes (social, political, religious), and, in order that it may acquire a few virtues belonging to the so-called "superior" race, to compel it to go through all the slow motions, repeat the doubtful experiments, and crawl along the lanes and by-ways, which, often, through simple stupidity and wrongheadedness and not by reason of evolutional necessity, it has been content itself to traverse. "We came up this way, therefore you must," is the doctrine, not of the scientist, but of the racial bigot. Because it took a thousand years for a people of the white race to become sane on a certain matter, it is no reason for our employment of *force majeure* to compel China to walk, when she is fully prepared to run. There are things in the evolution of the race, as in that of the individual, of which it may be said with perfect truth:

If it were done when 'tis done, then 'twere well
It were done quickly.

Curiously enough, the history of civilization in China itself affords us a brilliant example, as Laufer has recently pointed out, of the impossibility of applying to that country the genetic succession of culture-stages recognized by archaeologists as having occurred in ancient Europe. The civilization of China cannot be interpreted as a sequence of ages of stone, bronze and iron. This, alone, is enough to warn against all attempts to make the Chinese psyche dance to the Aryan fiddle.

10. The present, too, is the age of democracy. And we must remember, that, behind all the imperial trappings of China, is to be discerned an essential spirit of democracy, which, in fact, so thoroughly human a people as the Chinese could scarcely exist without. It is making itself felt in the political and social adjustments which are now going on, and, when these have been sympathetically entertained and firmly and irrevocably established, the democracy of the yellow race will be ready to join hand with that of the white and begin the making of the world-democracy, with whose coming the genuine era of human evolution as such will undoubtedly appear.

The day of empires and of kingdoms, nay, even of republics, as mere institutions, controlled by small minorities of mankind, and moved and swayed by the lower instincts of caste and creed and race, is now on the wane, and must soon pass forever. The recent history of the Spanish war has demonstrated how a Republic like that of the United States can act with undisguised aristocracy in the Philippines, in Porto Rico and in Panama, and how Old World tyrants can have their echoes in New World Presidents, but these things can hardly repeat themselves. The day of the people has already begun to streak the morning skies —the day of the people, in whom have been kept safe from the very beginnings of history those human instincts and ideals, which, in all their perfection and completeness, shall be, some day, the common possession of all our race, irrespective of color, creed or past historical experiences.

The true democracy must be born out of the general heart of man. A democracy that is racial merely misses

utterly the goal. A democracy that serves itself only is already antiquated, for the test of the future is service to all mankind. While the motto "China for the Chinese," rightly interpreted, is only the just and self-respecting attitude for its people to adopt in face of the ill-considered efforts of other peoples to make them over in their own too scant image, the greater and nobler ideal, the one for which, through all the vicissitudes of times past, China has really been preserved, must not be clouded or diminished: "China for the world." The future rôle of China in the service of all mankind promises to be infinitely more memorable than has been its past so illustrious and so significant for the progress of mankind.

11. And in this high destiny, may she have the friendship, the coöperation, and the kindly stimulus and suggestion of America! May the great democracy of the Orient and the great democracy of the Occident mutually give rise to that greater democracy that shall know neither North nor South, nor East nor West, but simply one humanity! Let this be the twin-task of China and of America, of the Old World and the New, of the yellow race and the white! Let the farther end of Asia labor to bring to happy completion that of which, in hither Asia, on the hills of Palestine, the angel-voices sang to the shepherds, as they watched their flocks by night, "On earth peace, good-will toward men." For two thousand long years one race has had that word in its keeping; now let the two races try it together! A poet of today, whose voice has often been lured away to chant the praises of the uncomely god of war, has told us,

For East is East, and West is West,
And never the twain shall meet.

But the awakening sense of our general humanity, now making itself felt everywhere, gives that cynical aphorism the lie. East has met West and West has met East. They are here together now. In this very hall the twain have met, foreshadowing the ultimate coming together of the great peoples here represented. And we shall meet and meet again

Till the war-drum throbs no longer, and the battle-flags are
furl'd
In the parliament of man, the federation of the world.

And then, the dream of all the ages being fulfilled, and all
nations of men of one blood having come to dwell upon all
the face of the earth, in our common humanity we can
perhaps at last discern beyond all possibilities of doubt

One God, one law, one element,
And one far-off divine event
To which the whole creation moves.

NOTES AND REVIEWS

The Mind of Primitive Man. By FRANZ BOAS. The Mac-Millan Company, New York, 1911. 94 p. Price, \$1.50.

Those who know Dr. Boas mainly through his books and articles dealing with various phases of ethnography may be surprised to find his name coupled with such a title as his last book bears. No one will read it however, without seeing that Dr. Boas is and must always have been much more than an ethnographist. Not only has he studied at first hand many tribes but he has studied them in the light of all the more important anthropological theories and without being prejudiced by any of them. Indeed, his concrete investigations could not tell as they do in the solution of the larger problems of the science had he not possessed a thorough grasp of those problems and seen clearly the kind of concrete results which would help towards their solution. Certain it is, that only an intimate knowledge of all phases of primitive life, such as Dr. Boas possesses in an eminent degree, could enable one to speak with so much authority and convincingness.

The book is, however, only in part a psychology of primitive man and the title is slightly misleading. About half of the chapter on "Racial Prejudices," deals with the arguments from physical anthropology having a bearing upon the relative inferiority or superiority of so-called 'lower' and 'higher' races. The chapters which follow, "Influences of Environment upon Human Types," and "Influence of Heredity upon Human Types," are further inductions from comparative anatomy and anthropometry. In these three chapters will be found what we believe to be incomparably the best critical and summary statement of the findings of physical anthropology relative to the cultural status of different peoples. Dr. Boas' conclusion is, "that the differences between different types of man are, on the whole,

small as compared to the range of variation in each type;" (p. 94) and that, taking all the conditions into consideration, there is no reason why we should consider any of the 'lower' races as more simian than ourselves, or as occupying a position in the evolutionary scale lower than our own.

Having disproved the physical inferiority of primitive man, it remains to discuss "The Mental Traits of Primitive Man and of Civilized Man." Here, too, we find nothing to the eternal disparagement of any tribal group, no reason to consider his inferiority as anything more than conditional and accidental. The greater rapidity of development in the Old World, for example, as compared with that of the New World "is adequately explained by the laws of chance" (p. 8). The mental differences between races are in nowise due to differences of inherent psychic ability but solely to the differences of social setting with their corresponding different influences of psychic heredity. The differences, then, are to be expressed in terms of social psychology rather than in terms of analytical or experimental psychology. Put these peoples into the proper 'psychic planes and currents' and they will shake off the old fetters of custom and tradition and emotional reactions that to-day hamper them; for, in a word, as the social setting is inclined, so the race conforms. Indeed, the "power with which society holds us and does not give us a chance to step out of its limits cannot have acted as strongly upon them [i.e., primitive peoples] as upon us"—(p. 20) a point well worth our consideration.

Although each chapter is complete in itself, through them all one increasing purpose runs. The discussions pave the way to the concluding chapter on *Race Problems in the United States*. Dr. Boas discusses here our shameful neglect and the crying need of a national bureau which should deal with these problems in a comprehensive and thoroughly scientific way. The painstaking care of the author in every phase of primitive life that he touches on, his lack of any theory to prove, the extent and thoroughness of the data on which he has based his inductions and the unexampled manner in which he has allowed the evidence to speak for itself, are themselves the best standing example of

the only sensible way in which such a study as he suggests should be undertaken. Our present unconcern is sufficient evidence—were there no other forthcoming—of the extent to which we share the essential traits of primitive man, viz. a self-satisfied conceit in the ignorance of our own ways and an utter disregard of the bearing of present conditions upon the issues of the future.

Dr. Boas convincingly points out that there is no gulf between primitive peoples and ourselves; that a matter of a few hundred or a few thousand years of arrested development counts for little when viewed from a more comprehensive cosmic standpoint, and that these peoples, while they develop more slowly than do we, may in the end advance farther than we.

The author tells us that we are always measuring other peoples by our own social stand accompanying moral and resultant emotional standards, just as we measure other individuals by our own yard-sticks; other peoples do the same by us; and his inference seems to be that the conclusions of the one race as to the inferiority of another are as true as those of the other races with regard to it. There is no absolute truth as to comparative cultural values. With regard to every phase of the mental life of man, whether that representative be your eminent British philosopher or the fetish-doctor plying his trade in darkest Africa, the author is a thorough-going pragmatist.

W. D. WALLIS.

Half a Man. The Status of the Negro in New York. By MARY WHITE OVINGTON. With a Foreword by Dr. Franz Boas of Columbia University, New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1911. Pp. xi, 236.

The eight chapters of this book give the results of an honest and painstaking investigation of the economic and social condition of the Negro in the city of New York, carried on by the author, under the auspices of the Greenwich House Committee, of which she was a Fellow. The first chapter contains a brief history of the Negro in the city, from which it appears that, "before our large foreign immigration, the Negro was more needed in New York than to-day, and received a large share of satisfactory employment." The congestion of a great city has induced

race-segregation, and now the Negroes, like the Jews, the Italians, etc., "have their quarter, in which they live very much by themselves, paying little attention to their white neighbors." The good and bad sides of the Negro districts are clearly in evidence,—San Juan Hill, a characteristic region, has, within the past five years, "taken a decided turn for the better." The author is right in refusing to attribute altogether to lack of physical stamina and inability to resist disease (i.e. to racial defects), the high infant mortality prevalent among the Negroes, for here, as with the whites, improper infant-feeding and other factors must be admitted. The analysis of Negro crime, juvenile as well as adult, likewise fails to respond to the alleged racial touchstone, much of it being undoubtedly local and environmental, and happily curable with time and good-fortune. Depravity and improper guardianship (as revealed by arrests of children) are, apparently, the most serious defects of the New York Negroes.

Race-segregation and race-prejudice (even on the part of the labor-unions), together with his own inefficiency and the lack of opportunity to prove his ability in varied occupations, compel the Negro to work ineffectively in a race-group, instead of laboring effectively as an individual. And in the higher occupational life race-prejudice is even more evilly powerful against him, when he seeks to leave his own little world. More even than the Negro man, the Negro woman needs self-development. For her "full status as a woman" must come. When the Negro does become well-to-do, "he is not permitted to go through the city streets in easy comfort of body or mind." While, on the whole, the municipality does treat the Negro with justice, "the New York citizen can hardly be described as friendly, what catholicity he has being negative." A certain colored clergyman is reported to have said, upon this point: "In Paris I was welcome; in New York I am tolerated." The title of Miss Ovington's book indicates the nature of the opportunities at present afforded the Negro,—some day the democracy of America may decide to let him be a full man by way of the "square deal" and the "equal opportunity." The Negrophobe and the believer in extreme race-segregation should read this book and ponder also the words of Dr. Boas (p. viii): "The Negro of our times carries even more heavily the burden of his racial descent than did the Jew of an earlier period; and the intellectual and moral qualities required to insure success to the Negro are infinitely greater than those demanded from the white, and will be the greater, the stricter the segregation of the Negro community."

ALEXANDER F. CHAMBERLAIN.

JAPAN AS A COLONIZER

By Inazo Nitobe, Ph.D.

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With the acquisition of the small island of Formosa in 1895, Japan joined the ranks of colonial powers. Since then she has had the island of Saghalien by the treaty of Portsmouth in 1905 and Korea by annexation last year. Besides these territories she has also in her possession the small province of Kwang-tung in the Liao Tung peninsula; and a long, narrow strip of land along the Manchurian railroad, the last two being leased from the Chinese.

In recounting what Japan has done as a colonizer I shall for several reasons devote my time to a review of what Japan has achieved in Formosa. First, because it was the first colony and as such served the purpose of colonial education for us. Second, because it may be called the only colony with which we have had any experience worth speaking about. The other colonies and possessions are so new to us that whatever policy we may have formed for them has not yet borne any fruit. And thirdly, because the administration of this island of Formosa forms a precedent for the government of later acquisitions; and also because you can infer from a description of our policy in Formosa what we shall do with other possessions and colonies. To these three reasons there is an appendix to be added—namely, because I can speak of this colony from a long and personal connection with it, and to me the last is the strongest and the best reason.

Now Formosa, or more properly, Tai-wan (since Formosa is not a Chinese nor a Japanese name, being a Portuguese appellation), was ceded to us at the termination of the Chino-

Japanese war. When accession from China was proposed by Japan, we were not at all sure that the suggestion would be complied with by the authorities. But the Chinese plenipotentiary, Li Hung Chang, took up the proposition as though it were wise on the part of his country to be freed from an incumbrance, and even commiserated Japan for acquiring it. He pointed out that the island was not amenable to good government, that brigandage could never be exterminated there, that the presence of head hunting tribes was always a menace to social order, and that the climate was not salubrious, and also that the opium habit among the people was widely spread and extreme. The island, somewhat like Sicily, had, in the course of its history, been subject to the flags of various nations; Holland, Spain and China ruled it at different times, and at one time Japanese pirates had practically usurped supreme power over it. At another time the French flag floated on its shores. Such an instability in government is enough to demoralize any people; but among the people themselves there were elements which put law and order to naught.

The indigenous population consists of head-hunters of Malay descent, who live in small communities in a very low grade of culture. The only art with which they are acquainted is agriculture, and that in a very primitive style—what the Germans name Spatencultur, not agriculture proper but rather what Mr. Morgan, if I remember rightly, in his *Primitive Society* calls a primitive form of horticulture. They have no ploughs; they have no draft animals; this horticulture is all that they know. But these people are very cleanly in their habits. This may be due to their Malay instinct of frequent bathing; and they keep their cottages perfectly clean, unlike other savages of a similar grade of culture. The main part of the population, however, consists of Chinese who have come from the continent and settled in Formosa. They came chiefly from the opposite shores, the province of Fukien and from the city and surroundings of Canton. It seems that the Chinese emigrants could not perpetuate their families in their new home for any number of generations, succumbing as they did to the

direct and indirect effects of malaria, and hence the Chinese population proper was constantly replenished by new arrivals from the main land. The aborigines or savages living a primitive life, constantly driven into the forest regions and high altitudes, did not increase in numbers; so when Japan assumed authority in this island she found few conditions that bespoke a hopeful outlook. The Chinese, representing two branches of their race totally different in character and in their dialects—their dialect being unintelligible one to the other—occupied the coast and the plains and were chiefly engaged in agricultural pursuits. They had a few fortified cities and towns among them; Tainan and Taihoku, with a population of about 40,000 were the most important.

The peaceful Chinese inhabitants were constantly exposed to depredations of the brigands. In fact, a great many villages, besides paying taxes to the government, had to make regular but secret tribute to the brigand for immunity from spoliation. But this is nothing peculiar to Formosa. When I was in Manchuria I found just the same thing there. Perhaps my friend, Professor Iyenaga, described to you in his speech this morning the brigandage in Manchuria. When I was there a few years ago I found that the mounted bandits often threatened the caravans which carried merchandise and silver ingots. The government could do nothing with them and so the caravans formed a kind of league, a kind of guild; and then the brigands also formed a kind of guild, and both the caravan guild and the brigand guild would send their representatives to meet somewhere; and the caravan representative would offer to pay something and say, "Now, we will pay you so many thousands of dollars a year, if you promise to spare our caravans," and the brigands would say, "All right. If you carry such and such a flag we will not attack your caravans, but we will attack other caravans that do not pay us." Thus without any action on the part of the government there is peace procured between the brigands and the caravans.

It is the same with the beggars; in Mukden I saw a number of wretched looking creatures begging from house to house. These paupers form a very strong body; they have

a delegate of their own. A number of them will stand in front of a store and of course no one will go into such a store guarded by beggars, and that store loses trade. So a number of these stores get together, form a guild and send a delegate to the guild of the beggars and say, "Please don't stand in front of our stores." Between them the two delegates settle the matter for a certain sum of money. So it was with these Formosans, in their dealings with the bandits. They paid tribute, so many dollars or so many head of cattle a year. Still the agriculturists who had their farms away from the villages, even though they were free from brigandage, were exposed to the attacks of head-hunters who would steal unawares from their haunts among the mountains to shoot anybody. I must make a digression and state that these head-hunters are very partial to Chinese heads; they say that they are easier to cut, being shaved in the back. Well, these head-hunters had a custom among them according to which young men must secure some head as a trophy without which they could not obtain recognition for bravery or celebrate any feast among their tribes. Hence the Formosan people had never known the meaning of a quiet, peaceful society or of a stable government. They had never known the security of property or of life. Successive administrations had, none of them, been able to assure them of these elementary duties of government. With a people brought up under these circumstances, patriotism was a thing entirely unknown.

In accordance with the stipulation of the treaty of Shimoseki, one of our generals, Count Kabayama, was dispatched as governor-general of Formosa. In that capacity he was about to land at the island with a large army; when he was met by the Chinese plenipotentiary at the port of Kelung, and in an interview which took place on board of the steamer *Yokohama Maru*, the 17th of April, 1895, it was arranged that a landing should be effected without opposition. This marked the first landing of our troops since the acquisition of the island of Formosa by the Japanese. There were at that time some Imperial Chinese soldiers still remaining on the island, but on hearing of its cession to

Japan they were required to disarm and leave the country. Many did so, but a few remained to oppose our army; and then also there were a few patriots who did not feel ready to accept our terms, not ready to accept an alien rule—and these either left the island or took up arms against us.

Since there was now no government, some of the so-called patriots proclaimed a republic, one of the very few republics, (I say *one* of the very few because this is not the only case—we had a similar instance in Japan), that were started in Asia. Mr. Tang was elected president and the republic of Formosa lasted three or four months, leaving behind nothing but some post-stamps valuable for collectors. At this time the professional brigands took this opportunity of general disturbance to ply their trade. I dare say the peaceful inhabitants of the island suffered more from the hands of their own countrymen, that is, largely from Chinese troops and brigands, than they did from us. Evidence of this lies in the fact that several towns received our army with open arms as a deliverer from robbery and slaughter.

Though the island was pacified no one knew what was to happen next. We did not understand the character of the people. Very few Japanese could speak Formosan and fewer Formosans could speak Japanese. There was naturally mutual distrust and suspicion. The bandits abounded everywhere. Under these conditions military rule was the only form of government that could be adopted until better assurance could be obtained of the disposition of the people. For this purpose it was calculated that some ten million yen, I may say five million dollars, was yearly needed for the pacification and government of Formosa. Out of this necessary sum only three million yen could be obtained by taxation, according to the old régime. The balance had to be defrayed by the central, that is by the Japanese, government. Now an annual expenditure of six or seven million yen in those years, to be spent in an island away from home, with no immediate prospect of return, was by no means an easy task for the rather limited finance of Japan. You know how land values are rising everywhere. Even in Africa, England had to pay very much more than she had expected in getting

land in the south; and I think Italy has by this time found Tripoli rather more expensive than she had calculated at first. A colony that looks at a distance like the goose that lays the golden egg, on nearer approach and especially when you have to pay the bills, often proves to be a white elephant. So with us impatient people who had expected great things and great benefits to come from Formosa, began to call for more frugality and some of the very best publicists went even so far as to propose that the island of Formosa should be sold back to China or even to some other power. In the course of some thirty months, two years and a half, no less than three times were governors changed.

The first governor general was Count Kabayama, known as a hero of the Chino-Japanese war; the second was no less a man than Prince Katsura, now of some international fame as the prime minister of Japan for many years; and the third was General Nogi. Finding that the country could ill afford such a luxury as a colony, the parliament of Japan cut down its subsidy of six or seven million yen from the national treasury by about one-third, thus reducing the subsidy from six or seven million to only four million. Now who would accept a position held by a man as Nogi, but now reduced financially to two-thirds of its former prestige and power? Only a man of unbounded resources, of keen perception and quick decision, not a second or a third-rate man, would accept such a place; and Japan is forever to be congratulated on finding the right man at the right time for the right place, Viscount Kodama, who, as a member of the General Staff, had made a study of the Formosan problem and was ready to accept the governorship and to see if he could put to rights the bankrupt housekeeping of the colony. I am afraid that the name so well known among us is perhaps very much less known in this country. Kodama is a name which is cherished by our people with love and respect. Perhaps you can best remember his name if I tell you that he was the real brains of the Russo-Japanese war. It was he who actually directed the whole Japanese army in the war with Russia.

In accepting the governorship of Formosa he was particularly fortunate in the selection of his lieutenant, his assist-

ant, the civil governor; he made the discovery, as he called it, of a man who proved himself his right hand, and who actually came far above his most sanguine expectations. I mean Baron Goto, one of the rising statesmen of modern Japan. Baron Goto in the last cabinet held the position of Minister of Communications and was President of the Railway Board. Until Baron Goto was made civil governor of Formosa under Kodama he had been known as an expert on hygiene, having been a medical doctor. The advent of these two men in Formosa marked a new era in our colonial administration. Upon entering their new post of duty early in 1898, the first thing they did was the practical suspension of military rule; at least it was made subservient to civil administration. Military rule is apt to become harsh and to the Chinese especially, who are not accustomed to respect the army, it is doubly harsh.

Next, Kodama and Goto, to whom English colonial service was an inspiring example, surprised the official world by a summary discharge of over one thousand public servants of high and low degrees, and collected about them men known and tried for their knowledge and integrity. They used to say often and often, "It is the man who rules and not red tape." In an old and well settled country "red tape" may be convenient, but in a new colony great latitude of power and initiative must be left to responsible men. I emphasize this point because these men, I mean the governor general and the civil governor, attributed their success largely to the selection and use of right men.

Brigandage was still rampant when Kodama went to Formosa, and with military rule in abeyance there was some likelihood of its growing worse. To offset this, the constabulary department was organized and made efficient by proper care in choosing men for the police and by educating them in the language, and in the rudiments of law and industries, for their arduous tasks. Exceedingly arduous were their callings, since these policemen were required not only to represent law and order but they were expected to be teachers. They kept account, for instance, of every man, and they watched over every man and woman who smoked opium;

they had to be acquainted with children of school age and know which children went to school and which did not. Moreover, they were required to teach the parents the rudiments of entomology. I do not know how policemen in this country are educated; but I think they are better educated, though perhaps not in entomology and hygiene. But our Formosan police were expected to teach the people how to take care of themselves, and especially about pests, about disinfection, and about lots of other things that would scarcely be required of any policeman in any other part of the world. Moreover these policemen were required to live in a village where there were no Japanese, just a purely Formosan village, alone or sometimes with their wives. Of course the policemen were required to know the language and to speak it. Now under civil administration armies were not mobilized against brigands, and if there was any trouble it was the policemen who had to go and settle brigandage. But the brigands were invited to subject themselves to law and if they surrendered their arms they were assured not only of protection but against hunger. Not a few leaders took the hint and were given special privileges, so that they were assured of a future living. Those who resisted to the end were necessarily treated as disturbers and as criminals. Twelve years ago brigandage was so rampant that the capital of Formosa, Taihoku, was assaulted by them; but in the last ten years we scarcely hear of it. I went to Taihoku ten years ago and whenever I went a few miles out of the city half a dozen policemen armed with rifles used to accompany me for my protection. But in the last five or six years a young girl can travel from one end of the island to the other, of course excluding savage or aboriginal districts, of which I shall speak later.

Thus what Li-Hung-Chang in the conference of Shimoneseki said, turned out to be of no consequence. According to him brigandage was something inherent in the social constitution of Formosa. He said it was something that could not be uprooted in the island; yet here is Formosa to-day with not a trace of brigandage. That is one of the first things which was accomplished by Japan as a colonizer.

Then another great evil in the island to which Li-Hung-Chang alluded was the opium smoking. When the island was taken, it was a favorite subject for discussion among our people. Some said opium smoking must be abolished at once by law. Others said, "No, no, let it alone; it is something from which the Chinese cannot free themselves; let them smoke and smoke to death." What took Baron Goto for the first time to Formosa was the desire to study the question of opium-smoking from a medical standpoint; and the plan he drew up was the gradual suppression of the smoking habit, and the *modus operandi* was the control of the production—this was to be done by the government, because, if the government monopolizes the production and manufacture of opium, it can restrict the quantity and also it can improve the quality so as to make it less harmful. A long list of all those who were addicted to this habit was compiled, and only those who were confirmed smokers were given permission to buy opium. People who never smoked opium before, or children, were not allowed to buy, much less to smoke opium, and strict surveillance was to be instituted by the policeman, who, as I mentioned before, knows every man in the village. The annual returns made of the confirmed smokers and of the quantity consumed in the island show distinct and gradual decrease of opium. At one time the number of smokers was, in round numbers, 170,000. In ten years the olders ones died off and younger ones did not come to take their place; so there is constant diminution. In ten years the number decreased from 170,000 to 130,000; and now it is about 110,000. So there is this constant annual decrease and that, we think, is the only right way to do away with this habit. It may interest you, perhaps, to know that American commissioners from the Philippine Islands came to study our system. When I met them they expressed much satisfaction and I dare say they are going to have the same system introduced in the Philippines, for the Chinese in these islands. Thus the second evil which Li-Hung-Chang said was inherent to Formosa also disappeared, or rather is fast disappearing.

There are two more obstacles which we consider are in the

way of the further development of the island of Formosa; these are, first the mosquito and second, the savages. By mosquitoes I mean especially the anopheles, the malaria-bearing mosquito. Malaria is the greatest obstacle in the way of developing the resources of the island. The Japanese immigrants who have come suffer, I may say one-third of them, from malaria. If I want labor and if I take with me 100 Japanese laborers to Formosa, I can count on the efficiency of only 60 or 70, because one-third of the laborers must be expected to be sick with malaria. Hygienic and sanitary measures are vigorously enforced but this can be done only in the larger cities. In the city or rather the capital of Taihoku, they made a very perfect sewage system; they tore down the old castle walls and used the stones in making the sewage ditches, and ever since then the number of people suffering from malaria has decreased greatly. In fact, it is said that malaria has disappeared from the city. Careful observations resulted in substantiating the fact that among the mosquitoes in this city less than 1 per cent belonged to the dangerous species of anopheles. The rest of the mosquitoes are harmless, that is to say, as far as malaria is concerned. Then also, speaking of sanitation, I am reminded of what we have done against the pest; the pest, or the bubonic plague, was a very common disease there, but in the last four years we hear nothing of it. By constant care and by strict enforcement of sanitary laws is the pest now eradicated or near eradication.

But as to the aborigines, or the savages of Formosa we cannot say we have nearly eradicated them. They belong to the Malay race and are fierce and brave. As I have said before, they live in the mountains; they never live on the plains. And when they want a head they steal down, hide themselves among the underbrush or among the branches of trees, and shoot the first Chinese or Japanese that passes by. In fact I knew of a savage who had his rifle so placed on a rock that he could shoot any person who happened to walk past in just a certain direction and at a certain height; and there he waited for days and days for somebody to walk right within his range; and he succeeded in getting a head! With

such people it is practically impossible to do anything. In number they must be over 100,000; we cannot count them, but we are pretty sure there are 115,000. Repeated attempts we have made but we never have succeeded thus far in doing much damage to them, though they have succeeded in doing much damage to us.

All that we can do and all that we are doing, in order to prevent their descending from among the heights, is to place a wire fence on the ridge of the hills. Barbed wire was used at first, but now we use a wire fence which is not barbed but is of ordinary wire with a strong electric current running through it. That may sound very savage to you, but it is the only way that we can keep them off from us. I have been in this place and seen the fences. The wire is strung on posts about five feet high; there are four wires with a foot between them, and a strong electric current running through. At first they tried their best to get over the fence, but they have learned not to approach it. This wire fence stretches a distance of some three hundred miles. It costs several thousand dollars; yet every year we build this fence some miles further in. The next year we go another stretch, so that their dominion will be more and more confined to the very tops of the mountains. Of course I do not wish to give you an impression that we are dealing harshly with them, because we offer them their choice. We say, "If you come down and don't indulge in head-hunting we will welcome you as a brother,"—because they are brothers. These savages look more like Japanese than Chinese and they themselves say of the Japanese that we Japanese are their kin and that the Chinese are their enemies. Because the Chinese wear their queues they think that their heads are especially made to be hunted. And now every year, as I say, we are getting a better control over them by this constant moving of the wire fence and by the salt-famine for they have no salt since they are cut off from the sea-shore; they raise their rice, they raise millet, they have their own animals, and so they do not want food, but what they want badly is salt. So we say, "We will give you salt if you will come down and give up your arms;" and tribe after tribe has recognized our

power and has submitted itself to Japanese rule. Then we build them houses, we give them agricultural tools and implements, give them land, and let them continue their own peaceful ways of livelihood.

Thus I have dwelt in a very sketchy, very unsatisfactory way, on the four points to which Li-Hung-Chang in the conference at Shimonoseki alluded as great obstacles in the way of developing Formosa. What now is the result? At first we could not manage a colony with the money that we could raise in the island; every year we had to get some subsidy from the national treasury. It was expected that such a subsidy was necessary until 1910. But by the development of Formosan industries, especially of rice and of tea, (of Oolong tea, for which you are the best customer, because Oolong tea is made chiefly for American export), by developing the camphor industry (because all the camphor that you use, if not artificial, is produced in Formosa); by developing sugar, the production of which was increased five-fold in the last ten years (a tremendous increase for any country in any industry)—by developing these industries, we can get money enough in the island to do all the work that is needed to be done there. By this I mean that irrigation work, for instance, is now being carried out on a large scale. Then there is the improvement of the harbors; both in the north, at Kelung, and in the south, at Takao, commodious and deep harbors are now being constructed or improved. We have built a railroad from one end of the island to the other. Schools and hospitals are now to be met with in every village and town. Then the police attend to the health, to the industries, and to the education of the people. In all these things we think that we have succeeded quite well, especially when we compare our colony of Formosa with the experiments that other nations are making. We often speak of English colonies as being models; we speak of French colonies as examples not to be followed; and we are looking to your experiment in the Philippines to find what it will amount to. Comparing our Formosa with the colonies of these different powers, we have good reason to congratulate ourselves.

I have made a very rough, sketchy address this afternoon. I have only tried to show what were the general lines of policy pursued in the development of Formosa. We have been successful. A colony was at first thought to be a luxury, but now Formosa is to us a necessity. The example that we set there in that island will be followed in other colonies of ours. I may say that the general lines of the colonial policy of Formosa were first of all, the defense of the island. So much is said about our increased navy, some people in this country think that we are increasing our navy in order to attack San Francisco or Manila; but with the acquisition of Formosa, of the island of Saghalien, and of Korea, our coast line has increased immensely and yet our increased navy is not sufficient for the proper defence of all the coast lines that we have, for the first great object in the colonial policy of Formosa, and I may say of Japan, is the defence of the new territory.

The second is the protection of property and life, and the dissemination of legal institutions. People unaccustomed to the protection of law feel as though it were despotism. But they will soon find out that, after all, good government and good laws are the safeguard of life and property, and we have to teach in Korea as well as in Formosa what government and what laws are.

Then the third point is the protection of health. I have spoken to you of what we have done in Formosa; similar lines of policy will be pursued in Korea. When I saw Prince Ito in Seoul and when I told him that the population in Korea had not increased in the last hundred years and that perhaps the Korean race was destined to disappear, he said, "Well, I am not sure. I wish to see whether good laws will increase the fecundity of the Korean people." In Formosa it was a very well known fact that without new recruits coming from the mainland of China the population would diminish. There were more deaths than births. But since we assumed sovereignty there annual returns show a gradual increase of births over deaths; hence, as I said, the third great point in the colonial policy of Japan is the protection of health.

The fourth is the encouragement of industries. In Formosa the government has done much to improve the quality as well as the quantity of rice, and to improve irrigation. The improvements in the sugar industry which have been made were suggested by the government. When the work was started ten years ago we got sixty tons of cuttings from Hawaii; and we have about twenty mills, the machinery being imported from Germany, England and Hawaii. The experiments in the manufacture of sugar were also made by the government and when the experiments resulted in improvement, this was told to the people; experts were sent out to the different villages, preaching the advantages of better culture. So with other branches of industry. The government is constantly encouraging the people to make improvements.

And then the fifth policy is that of education. In Formosa we have just reached the stage when we are taking up education seriously. We could not do it before this, because our idea was first of all to give to those new people something which will satisfy their hunger and thirst; their bodies must be nourished before their minds. And now that the economic condition has improved in the last year or two, schools are being started in all the villages.

These broad lines of colonial policy which we have practised with good results in Formosa, will be transferred in Korea. We do not trouble ourselves about the question of assimilation. In the last number of the JOURNAL OF RACE DEVELOPMENT published by this University, I read an article by Mr. MacKay, British consul in Formosa. He concludes his article by expressing two doubts, namely: one in regard to the commingling of races, that is, Chinese and Formosans; and second, in regard to the Japanization of the Formosans. He doubts whether either will take place. Well, as far as the Japanese are concerned, we do not trouble ourselves about these questions. I think assimilation will be found easier in Korea because the Korean race is very much allied to our own. In Formosa, assimilation will be out of the question for long years to come and we shall not try to force it. The idea is that we put no pressure upon them, with the object of

assimilation or Japanization in view. Our idea is to provide a Japanese milieu, so to speak, and if people come and if they assimilate themselves, well and good. We have a proverb in Japan which says, "He who flees is not pursued, but he who comes is not repulsed." If the Formosans or the Koreans come to us, we will not repulse them. We will take them with open arms and we will hold them as our brothers, but we will not pursue them. We leave their customs and manners just as they like to have them. Our principle is firm government and free society. Firmness in government is something which they did not have before, and that is what we offer to them.

And therefore I beg of Americans who are interested in the development of Japan as a colonial power, not to be misled by reports which now and then appear in different periodicals and newspapers by critics of all nationalities and of all countries. I have often read articles written by foreign critics who speak of our administration in Korea as a failure. A well educated man, an American, wrote that in Formosa the people are very much opposed to the Japanese government, are very much dissatisfied with it. If I were to go among the farmers in the west of this country and ask, "Are you satisfied with Mr. Taft's administration?" they would say "Yes, we are." But if I were to press the question. "Do you think there is something to improve?" "Of course," the farmers will say, "I do not think Mr. Taft's administration is *perfect*." Well, I may note down in my book that the American people are dissatisfied with Mr. Taft and may rise against him at any moment. Such a rumor you may hear from time to time in any newspaper about any country; but as our adage has it—"Proof is stronger than argument;" and I have given but a few proofs, though, if time allowed, I could give more.

THE PROGRESS OF JAPANESE INDUSTRY

By Hon. William C. Redfield, Member of Congress

When I set forth to find out, if I could, what the industrial situation in Japan actually was, by meeting the men who were doing the work and by visiting the factories and the mills in that country myself, I had no idea of using the information save for the perhaps sordid purpose of adding to the business of my own factory. Least of all had I a thought of appearing before such an audience as this and talking about it. I would very much rather speak to you about something a little less material. I should like to tell you something of Nikko and its wonderful temples. I should like to go over again my trip along the inland sea. I should like to have you go with me over to the island of Awaji, on a little steamboat, which was built for short men, and on which I could not stand up at all the whole forenoon. Those are the things I should enjoy telling you. Then, too, I should not like to seem to you unappreciative of the art and the traditions of art in Japan.

But it falls to me to talk with you on the economic side of the life of that great people. In so doing, I am going to try to avoid figures all I can and to touch as much as possible upon the fundamental basis of all economics—their human side. For you and I have been told too often that economics are a dreary thing. They are not, unless the food we eat, the clothes we wear, the work we do, the incomes we want and the money we spend, are dreary things. Those are human things, and he who would see economics thoroughly, must see and grasp the human side ere he attempts to apply figures. One is the bones of the science; the other its living life-blood and the flow of its every activity. Therefore, I want you to see a picture and not a form only. I want you to grasp a growth and not a theory. I want you to see a people evolving out of poverty into comfort, and not a

question of exports and imports. I don't care how much a Japanese artisan earns in a day. I care very much if it enables him to live a better life. So let us learn the evolution of Japan's industry in that way, so far as we can in the brief time we have. First let us divide our subject as the ministers of old did, that we may look at it with a certain amount of intelligence. We will speak of it, therefore, in four ways—the evolution of Japanese industry, the basis of Japanese industry, the outlook of Japanese industry, and, finally, Japanese industries as competitors and customers. Among them all we should fairly cover our theme.

To begin with, there is no other country in the world so interesting to the observer of industry as Japan, because it is almost the one country among them all where the old and the new in industry are going on side by side, each in full vigor. The day of the handcraftsman is nearly gone in Massachusetts. It is gone in England. It is gone in Germany. But in Japan the handcraftsman still reigns supreme. Side by side with an enormous mass of most skillful and artistic handcraftsmen goes on the modern factory system, and we must admit that in equipment, in size, and in management, the great Japanese factories have little to learn from Massachusetts. It is a matter, therefore, of extraordinary interest to see these two great phases of industry operating together. Not only that, but they may be seen on a very considerable scale. I should like to take you all first to Kioto for many reasons. I should like to get you out of Yokohama as speedily as I could. To my mind Yokohama is a sort of foreign mushroom growing on Japanese soil. I did not like Yokohama; I did not like its atmosphere of gain. So we will pass from it and go where we may find old Japan at work in Kioto. And now, ladies and gentlemen, I hope your purses are full, for when you enter Kioto, you will need your purse reasonably well filled—not that the prices are so high but that the goods are so attractive. I really regard Kioto as one of the most dangerous towns for the traveler from a financial standpoint that I ever knew. If you go into the Damascene shops and watch them in-laying in gold and silver, and then pass to the great potteries of

Kin Kusan, where there were nine hundred artists working at decorating porcelain when I was there, I am afraid, if you are fond of the fine porcelains that Kin Kusan put out, that you will say goodbye to your financial prudence.

In the old city of Kioto, the ancient capital, then, you find the beautiful, artistic industries of Japan in full force and vigor; they are wonderfully intricate and wonderfully beautiful to see. It is amazing and instructive to us with our mechanical ideas to see the close artistic work of the Japanese workmen in the old city of Kioto.

Now take the train for an hour to the south, and you come to Osaka with its million of people and its cotton mills; you have gone from the old world to the new, from the hand-craftsman to the factory. You have left behind you the ancient and the artistic, and have come down to the sordid commonplace of a weaving-room and a spinning-room. Osaka is full of great cotton mills, and from there southward it is but a step again to Kobe and Hiogo, where in the great mills of the Kanegafuchi Cotton Spinning Company you will find a prosperity in the cotton industry which would make New England sit up and think. It was my good fortune, at their request, to take the steamer over to the little town of Sumoto, where I believe I was the only foreigner and where I was received with cordial hospitality. I could, if I had time, tell you of the interesting experience of going into a cotton mill and showing them how to start up a piece of machinery—showing them how it worked, which was rather an unusual experience for a lone foreigner on a Japanese island.

From there we will go to Nagasaki and see the women carrying baskets of coal. On my visit there, Mr. Matsuyama of Mitsui & Co., Ltd., told me that these women have a record of loading as much as eight thousand tons of coal in a single day. It may interest you, as showing the change that is going on, to know that he also told me that the day of the women workers loading the coal was passing away, because, although they received only somewhere from twelve to twenty cents a day in our money, it was cheaper to do the work with modern coal handling machinery and

because Japanese funds are not sufficient now to carry on those very large works.

Yet I do not want you to get the impression that Japan is in any sense insolvent. It is not. Her statesmen are guiding her with rare self-sacrifice and with uncommon wisdom, and her treasury shows a surplus every year. It is simply that her growth has been so rapid and her outreach so large that she lacks, as other nations do the ready cash with which to do the work as fast as she would like to do it.

Japan rejoices, on the other hand, in a wealth of labor of a remarkable character. I suppose there is no more thrifty, able, capable worker than the average Japanese. He is accustomed to living to his satisfaction on the most limited scale. He is of good mental and physical capacity, and capable of becoming a very great factor in industry. One of the fundamental facts in Japan is her splendid supply of abundant physical labor. Let us think a moment what our condition would be, if we could only cultivate about one-fifth of our territory. That is the case in Japan. A fraction less than 20 per cent of the land of the empire, speaking now of Japan itself, is arable. The other four-fifths is mountainous or of such a character that it cannot readily be cultivated. The holdings of the farmers are very small. They average about four of our acres, taking the whole empire together. And the result is that the population presses very closely upon the means of supplying food. Hence the Japanese exports his population; hence he has become a colonizing people; hence he goes whither he can to improve his circumstances.

The fact of the abundance of labor and of the pressure upon the means of living have combined to keep wages in Japan very low. Here we touch upon the third vital factor in Japanese industry—first, that the wages are low as compared with ours, and second, that they are rising very rapidly. For example, the wages of a mill weaver in the year 1907 were 0.42 of a yen. A yen being fifty cents, that was something less than twenty-five cents of our money to-day. But a weaver's wage has risen since 1905 from 0.18 to 0.42, or more than double. That of the shoemaker

rose from 0.41 in 1905 to 0.58 in 1907. And in every other Japanese industry, without going into too much detail, one finds the same advance in wages. So we have for our other element upon which to base our Japanese industry very cheap labor, but labor which is rapidly advancing in price. You cannot assume in discussing Japanese industry that the wage there is fixed, even for a short time to come.

But on the other hand, the Japanese mechanic is not trained yet in the mechanic arts, in the arts of handling machinery. He has had no chance. There are some in the great factories, but not enough. This *Japanese Year Book*, which I have before me, frankly says that it takes three Japanese mechanics to do the work of one European or American mechanic. That is merely a matter of training. The president of the big cotton mill that I have mentioned wrote to me that in ventilating his mill I must figure on three to four times as many operatives to do the work as was the case in our New England mills.

As regards the materials of industry, the empire extends over so great a latitude that the material products range from the sub-arctic to the sub-tropical of Formosa, and from the sea products of the ocean to the continental supplies of Korea. Formosa, I suppose, is one of the most productive countries of its size in the world. The sea products are a great source of wealth in Japan. She draws lumber from Formosa, and northern Korea; cotton from Korea, and lumber also from Karafuto. The empire is rich, of course, in silk. A little more than one-quarter of all the world's silk comes from Japan, and about 60 per cent of all we use in America is derived from there. She has no cotton on her own soil save that which is about to come rather than has come from Korea. She draws some of it from India, more from China, and most from the United States, but she is no worse off in that respect than England, the largest of all cotton manufacturers, who draws her supplies wholly from abroad.

Japan is blessed with ample materials for power. She has abundant coal and a very widespread and abundant supply of water power from the numerous streams coming from the mountain ranges. Consequently, Japan offers

a great field for the development of electric light and power, which is being very rapidly taken up. I have the pleasure of knowing the gentleman who operates the largest coal mines in Japan, and from them now they are making coke, gas, coal tar, ammonia, and other products.

To these resources she adds a market in China which is right at her doors and of its kind is the largest of the world; and the presence of that market just across the way is the reason why the cotton spinning industry took hold first in Japan and has progressed the most. She has already made her presence felt in our cotton mills in eastern New England. Some of the Chinese trade we used to have she has taken away, and will continue undoubtedly to take more, because she possesses a peculiarly intimate knowledge and sympathy with that market, and a closeness of touch with it, that no other nation can possibly have. We must expect for a time at least to lose a certain amount of our cotton trade in China to Japan. There is, as I have said, this great opportunity in the textile field. The four hundred or so millions of China are across the way and offer a magnificent market that Japanese brains are thoroughly familiar with and Japanese energy intends to look after.

The outlook for the iron and steel industries is not very bright for Japan, for she lacks a good supply of iron. But as Japan is a colonizing people, and as her people spread into the rich country of Formosa and Korea, and to the north, there is certain to come from the increase of wealth derived from their labor and thrift in these relatively uncrowded countries, a largely increased demand for the industries of Japan, which will give her a domestic market which she has heretofore lacked; so that Japan will come, normally, to find herself somewhat in the position that Germany occupies. Considering the great industrial countries, we would say England has very largely an exporting market. There are not people enough to take nearly all of the output of her factories. The United States has almost entirely a domestic market, the foreign sales of merchandise being only one-twentieth of our output. Germany, on the other hand, has both a domestic and foreign market, and into that happy

position Japan is evolving, by reason of her development of Korea and Formosa and of Karafuto at the north, as well as of her own territories,—and to which she may add the great market at hand in China.

will come to make themselves. We must expect also to lose a certain amount of our Chinese market for the very same reason. But the very prosperity that will come to Japan, as Korea and Formosa and the other lands develop under her keen agricultural touch, the very growth of these industries arising from her Chinese market and her own growing, will increase the needs of Japan for things she does not make and must buy. That is always the rule as nations grow in industry. Furthermore, her labor, growing in productivity, will grow in wage, for the wage is always based—whether the employer will have it so or not—ultimately on what the man produces, and as Japan produces more, her laborers will earn more. So it will not be true long that Japan will have any such advantage in price in the world's markets as is now represented by the difference in wages between her artisans and ours. Today for a given duty they employ a good many more people than we. In some of her industries too, she must frankly be admitted to be backward. Her locomotives cost more than ours do, and we sell them there and have 720 running on the Japanese railroads.

Some Japanese are very backward in certain ways. It is a very curious sight to see women driving piles for a building, which goes on all the time in Tokyo. The human being is still used as a draft horse, but the time is not so very far distant when the Japanese artisan can employ his time better than by pulling a jinrikiha through the streets of Tokyo. That will evolve out of existence just exactly as the coal handling woman is being evolved out of existence. With this evolution toward a higher wage comes the evolution toward a larger demand, and that demand will not be confined in Japan to the things that Japan produces any more than it is confined in America, or in England, to the things those countries produce. So, while there may be painful processes of readjustment, in the ultimate result what is good for Japanese commerce is good for American commerce, and that is true of any commerce anywhere. I have small patience with a narrow view of commerce, which makes it war between one man and another. Commerce, if it be a true commerce, is a thing that helps buyer and sel-

ler, and whatever, therefore, aids the buyer of Japan to buy, aids certainly the Americans to sell. So there is no reason to doubt that by the very act of her taking away a market here and there, she becomes better able to buy other things that we desire to sell.

The industry of Japan is in a sub-normal condition. The handicrafts are highly evolved and perfected. The factory system is well developed in some ways, but not largely developed and not highly perfected. There does not yet exist the great mass of artisans from whom a factory manager can draw a large supply of skilled labor at will. It has to be made. It is being made very rapidly. Her industries are not in the condition where we can speak of them as in any degree fixed. Neither are ours in this country; they change from year to year with startling rapidity. Hers are far less fixed than ours. They have to develop rapidly, and they have developed rapidly. We cannot form from the industries of Japan today any sound judgment as to what those industries will be ten years hence. This much we can say; they are certain to expand. Their artisans are certain to grow in number and in earning power. Japan is bound to gain rapidly in wealth. Her people are industrious and thrifty—very much like the French in both of those respects; and if she increases in wealth and in the growth of her industries, she will become—we must expect it—one of the great and growing factors in the commerce of the world. But for that reason no less our friend and no less valuable a customer for our produce.

JAPAN IN SOUTH MANCHURIA¹

By Toyokichi Iyenaga, Ph.D., Professorial Lecturer in Political Science, University of Chicago.

To Japan few problems of international relation are of more vital concern than the Manchurian question; for upon its wise solution depends the future of the empire and peace in the Far East. Nothing, therefore, will be more welcome to us than a clear and just understanding by other nations of our status in South Manchuria, and the grounds upon which it rests.

HISTORICAL RETROSPECT

The historical retrospect claims our first attention, if we are to weigh the Manchurian question equitably. Two tragic events of supreme importance fasten most powerfully the Japanese thought and imagination upon Manchuria. Only known to the West till the middle of the past century as the habitat of nomads and mounted bandits, Manchuria suddenly sprang into international significance by the China-Japan war of 1894-95. During its progress Japanese soldiers overran and conquered a part of the Chinese territory known as the Liaotung Peninsula. As the reward of war China ceded it to Japan by the Shimonoseki treaty. No sooner, however, had the peace terms been made known than Japan was confronted by a formidable coalition consisting of Russia, Germany and France, bent on depriving Japan of the best fruits of victory.

To this *force majeure* Japan was compelled to submit, and she retreated in 1895 from the Asiatic mainland with whatever grace her self-discipline could command. The ink was hardly dry on the note addressed by the three European powers to the Mikado, counselling him to renounce his claim to the Liaotung Peninsula on the plea that its reten-

¹ Address delivered on November 23, 1911, at Clark University.

tion by Japan would be a standing menace to the capital of China and the peace of the Orient, when Germany seized Kiaochow, France secured Kwang-Chow Wan, and the Russian eagle flew over the fortress of Port Arthur. Swift and dramatic thereafter was the course of Russia, who with the mercilessness of an avenging host soon laid Manchuria under the hoofs of her Cossacks, and posted their vanguards on the south bank of the Yalu. The kingdom of Korea and the Island Empire itself were thus drifting toward a position where they would both be at the mercy of the Tsar.

Brought to this perilous position, Japan at last unsheathed her sword for self-preservation. Twice within a decade Manchuria had thus become the battlefield upon which the fate of the Japanese nation was to be determined. The risk it meant, and the supreme efforts it demanded, made the Russo-Japanese war an event of importance unprecedented in the annals of Japan. For a nation, just emerged from feudalism, which had hardly ever tested its mettle against a European foe, to fight the enemy whose proved valor and doggedness, and whose immense resources and population, had for half a century past been the terror of Europe, was surely to run a risk that few nations since the days of Marathon have had to face. Tremendous as was the task of overcoming Russia, right splendidly was it performed by our generals, soldiers, and sailors through their superb heroism, discipline, and self-immolation.

The sacrifices demanded of the people were no less exacting. To the altar of the state they offered 130,000 lives and 2,000,000,000 yen of treasure. Great as are these figures, they by no means fairly represent the true cost of war. They give no account of the thousand hardships endured by the wounded and by the wives and children of those who fought and died, which, as Cardinal Gibbons justly remarks, are the most frightful sufferings of war. These human sufferings are seemingly evanescent, but they are not forgotten. A national outpouring of spirit so profound, so intense, so far-reaching, has left wounds in the deep recesses of the nation's breast that have not yet healed. At the same time Japan will never forget the great debt she owes to the moral and

financial support so gladly given at the most critical moment by her loyal ally, Great Britain, and her constant friend, America.

Such, in brief, is the historical ground upon which rests Japan's present position in south Manchuria. Justice demands that the statesmen in power, who sway the destinies of nations, should recall this historical retrospect. As the heroic deeds recede into the background of history, the agonies of the dying are hushed in the silence of the tomb, and the heart-breaking woes of widows and orphans find their echo only in desolate homes, the cold letters of treaties and conventions alone remain to serve as the basis of judgment on the claims of opposing interests. Already critics are not wanting who claim that the advantages secured by Japan in south Manchuria are far in excess of those she merited by her success in the late war.

Totally different was the first verdict of the Japanese people upon the terms of the Portsmouth treaty. When its text became known in September, 1905, the Japanese nation in almost one breath raised its voice against it. In Tokyo the disaffected citizens planned a monster demonstration at Hibiya Park, and there came into collision with the police and gendarmerie. The meeting finally broke up, but the enraged populace, degenerating into a mob, paraded the streets, set on fire the official residence of the home minister, attacked the official organ *Kokumin*, and burned and destroyed 169 police stations, with more than a thousand attendant casualties. The disturbance was not suppressed until the aid of soldiers was called in, and the martial law proclaimed in the capital. This incident is recalled here, not to extenuate the weakness of the Japanese people, who for the first time since the outbreak of hostilities lost their self-restraint, but to bring into a clearer relief their point of view upon the results of the war. "After an unbroken series of victories," they cried, "What have we got? No indemnity! No Russian territory but the half of the Saghalien, which was once ours! No guarantee to limit the Russian armament on the Pacific to ensure our future security! Only the lease of a strip of territory around Port Arthur

and a few hundred miles of railroads in south Manchuria—these for the blood of hundreds of thousands of our brethren, and billions of money!"

It was in the face of such an opposition on the part of the people that the peace treaty was concluded. The statesmen in power took upon themselves the responsibility of caring for the true interest of the nation. Komura's triumph at the Portsmouth conference table must, therefore, be pronounced as one of the most remarkable victories Japan gained during the epoch-making years of 1904–05. It showed Japan's attachment to the last to the high ideals she set before her. It secured all the objects for which Japan went to war—the right of existence and growth of the empire, the preponderating influence of Japan in Korea, the maintenance of China's integrity and of the principle of the "Open Door." The waiving of the claim for indemnity was at once a moral and diplomatic gain. To have prolonged the war for the sake of obtaining an indemnity would have brought upon Japan the condemnation of the world. To have exacted an indemnity would have left an eternal thorn in the breast of Russia, and thus long deferred the friendship and co-operation of the two Powers in the Far East. By wise moderation Japan gave signal proof of her solicitude to listen to the voice of humanity, and saved herself from the impending financial *impasse*.

The material interests secured were, however, undoubtedly not at all commensurate with the outlay incurred and the victories gained. The more imperative, therefore, became the duty of the rulers to adopt such proper measures as to safeguard the interests acquired, and to recoup the exchequer

doing there seems not amiss. Such a survey, though it might seem superfluous to those well posted on the subject, will clear the way for the further discussion of the political, military, and economic grounds upon which Japan bases her Manchurian policy. Anti-Japanese propagandism prosecuted by a certain section of the press and publicists has conveyed to the American public the impression that Japan is in virtual control of the southern portion of Manchuria, while the northern section is still in the Russian grasp. As a matter of fact, all portions of Manchuria, once occupied by the Japanese and Russian troops, except the Kwantung Province and the "railway zone," have been entirely and completely restored to the exclusive control of China. Out of the territory measuring 360,000 square miles, what remains under the control and administration of Russia and Japan is in total 1803 square miles of land, together with the 1773 miles of railroad, having on each side of the tracks on an average about one hundred feet of land embraced in the "railway zone." Of all this, what actually came under the jurisdiction of Japan was the seven hundred odd miles of railway, the seventy square miles of the "railway zone," and the Kwantung Province. Let me briefly describe them.

THE KWANTUNG PROVINCE

The province lies on the southern extremity of the Liao-tung Peninsula and includes Port Arthur and Dairen (Russian Dalny). The territory covers an area, together with that of the adjacent islands, of 1,303 square miles. It had in 1910 a population of 462,399, of which foreigners numbered 112, Japanese 36,688, and Chinese 425,599. Transferred by Russia to Japan, the lease of the province continues under the same conditions as under the old régime.

With its seat in Port Arthur, the government of the province is in the hands of the governor-general, assisted by a civil administrator. The former, besides assuming the defense and administration of the province under lease,

the South Manchurian Railway. He also commands the railway guards, who are quartered in different places along the road. The expenditures of the Kwantung government for the financial year 1911-12 amounted to 5,791,653 yen, beside the local expenditure of 1,059,524 yen, of which 859,524 yen was defrayed out of local revenue. In this estimate, however, the expenditure of the railway guards is not included, since it belongs to the account of the department of war of the home government. Of the sum quoted above the national treasury grant for this financial year amounted to 3,644,047 yen, which, together with 200,000 yen of grant for local expenses, shows that more than half of the expenditure of the Kwantung government is still borne by the national exchequer.

With the paltry sum of \$3,000,000 gold, not larger than that expended by the German administration of Kiaochow, the Kwantung government maintains its staff and equipment; keeps peace and order in the province as well as in the railway zone; administers civil affairs, including that of justice, the latter by means of efficient law-courts and a well-kept prison; sustains seven public schools, one high school, one high school for girls, one technical college, beside several minor educational establishments; supports a marine bureau and a meteorological station; and attends to the work of sanitation, relief, encouragement of industry, and other requirements of civilized life in the territory under its care.

THE SOUTH MANCHURIAN RAILROAD COMPANY

The chief factor in the development of South Manchuria is the railroad company. It was organized in 1906 to undertake the works connected with the railroads transferred by Russia to Japan by the Portsmouth treaty. Its authorized capital is 200,000,000 yen, and at the same time it enjoys the statutory powers to borrow to the actual extent of its authorized capital. One-half of a million shares, each of 200 yen, is held by the Japanese government, representing the value of the property handed over to the company—namely, the railroads in existence at the time of transfer, all property

accessory to them, and the coal mines at Fushun and Yentai. The remaining half of the shares was to have been distributed among the Japanese and Chinese subscribers, who were guaranteed by the Japanese government with the interest of 6 per cent per annum on the paid up capital for the period of fifteen years. The organization committee of the company, however, decided to call for a subscription of only 20,000,000 yen, in view of the financial depression then prevailing, and to resort to debenture issues in England in order to raise the funds needed for the successful prosecution of the company's enterprises. Accordingly a loan of £8,000,-000, was floated in London at three separate times during 1907-08, bringing to the company the net of £7,490,000. On January 31, 1911, the company floated in London another loan of £6,000,000 out of which the previous loan of £2,000,000 was returned, so that the existing loan of the company stands at £12,000,000.

The company has undertaken various enterprises, the chief of which are railroad, shipping, harbor construction, mining, electric light and power plants, gas works, several undertakings in the railway zone, hotels, and experimental stations.²

1. The railroads that came into the possession of the company on April 1, 1907, were the Changchun-Dairen trunk line of 437.5 miles, the Autung-Mukden military (2 feet 6 inches) road of 188.9 miles, and the short branch lines to Port Arthur, Lin-shu-tun, Yinkou, Yentai, and Fushun, making the total of about 720 miles. These roads with the exception of the Autung-Mukden had been converted by the Japanese army from the Russian gauge of 5 feet into the Japanese standard of 3 feet 6 inches in order to adapt them to the rolling stock brought over from Japan. To reconvert the roads to the standard gauge of 4 feet 8½ inches, and to double the main track from Dairen to Suchiatun of 238 miles, in order to make them an effective international artery between the west and the east, were, therefore, the first work of the company. Both of these undertakings have been

already completed. The company runs express trains, provided with Pullman sleeping and dining cars, three times a week to connect with the Russian line at Changchun, with the Chinese line to Peking at Mukden, and with the steamship line to Shanghai at Dairen. The standardization of the Antung-Mukden line was also finished on October 31, 1911. The road is now open to the public, and will enable the European traveler to save about two days, bringing Tokyo to the reach of London within a fortnight.

The company has its workshops at Dairen, Liaoyang, Kung-chu-ling, and Antung-Hsien, and is building near Dairen an extensive shop, with the capacity of repairing at the same time 20 locomotives and 46 freight cars of 30 tons each. The growth of passenger and freight traffic, and railway receipts is shown by the following figures:

	FIRST HALF OF 1907	FIRST HALF OF 1909	FIRST HALF OF 1911
Passengers	704,300	1,029,418	1,440,400
Freight.....	533,283 tons	1,756,225 tons	2,267,858 tons
Receipts.....	4,093,425 yen	5,858,158 yen	6,323,302 yen

In short, during the period of two years 1908-1909 the traffic of passengers has increased by 40 per cent, that of freight has more than trebled, and the entire receipts more than doubled. The growth has been no less marked in later years.

the south Manchurian Railroad Company has started twice-a-week steamship service between the two ports. Since the route is the shortest between Europe and the Lower Yangtsze regions, its patrons are daily increasing. The passengers, freight, and receipts of the steamship line were in the second half of 1908 respectively 1536 passengers, 10,264 tons, and 66,750 yen, while the corresponding figures for the first half of 1911 stood at 2221 passengers, 37,518 tons, and 144,633 yen. The company is also engaged in the shipping of its coal from Port Arthur.

Far more important is the harbor construction at Dairen, for upon it depends the question whether or not the terminal port of the railroad will succeed in attracting the trade of Manchuria. It is undertaken at the estimated cost of 18,000,000 yen. The plan follows closely that formulated by its former builders. The construction of the eastern breakwater, 1221 feet long, 20 feet wide, and 19 feet above the tide, is nearing its completion. Between this and the northwestern breakwater, 12,500 feet long, with the same dimension and height as the former, is provided the opening of 1200 feet. Facing this entrance are built the magnificent wharves, with a frontage of over 6000 feet, and capable of accommodating steamers up to 28 feet in draught. The installment of cranes, and other equipment, enable the goods to be discharged from a ship and placed aboard the freight cars in one operation. These facilities for handling the cargo, together with the fact that Dairen is open to navigation throughout the year, are advantages not enjoyed by other Manchurian outlets.

3. *Mining.* The right of exploiting the coal mines at Fushun and Yentai was the most valuable of the rights and privileges secured in connection with the railroad. The coal field of Fushun runs parallel to the Hun for 10 miles. The thickness of the seam ranges between 80 and 175 feet. The most conservative estimate places the resource at 800,000,000 tons. The seven pits working, provided with the up-to-date machinery, yield now the daily output of about 3500

put of 5000 tons. The Fushun coal, in addition to its consumption by the company, supplied in the year October 1910 to September 1911 the home market to the amount of 410,862 tons, while its export to Shanghai, Hongkong, Singapore, Tientsin, Chefoo, Harbin, and Korea, amounted to 259,245 tons.

Connected with the mining enterprise at Fushun, the company has laid out new streets at Chien-Chin-Chai, installed electric and gas plants, laid water works, and established a school and a hospital.

4. *Undertakings in the railway zone.* By the "railway zone" in Manchuria is meant the tracts of land adjoining the railroad, which, by virtue of the Russo-Chinese agreement of 1896, Russia acquired from China. Upon these lands Russia obtained the right to erect any buildings and carry on all kinds of work. Furthermore, by the disclosure made at the time of the Fisher controversy at Harbin by M. Pokotiloff, Russian minister at Peking, it became publicly known that the authentic French text of the sixth article of the agreement conferred upon Russia, not only the privileges just enumerated, but also "le droit de l'administration exclusive et absolue sur ces terrains."³

The Portsmouth treaty made Japan the legatee of the railway zone south of Changchun, with all the rights and privileges appertaining thereto. The Japanese railway zone covers an area of 70.54 square miles, and that of Russia measures 513.63 square miles. Small as is the Japanese zone, the land is well distributed in all of the important trading centers along the South Manchurian Railway and the company has undertaken various works here. New streets lined with commodious houses in the vicinity of the native towns have been laid out at Wa-fang-tien, Hsiung-yo-Cheng, Kai-ping, Ta-shih-chiao, Hai-Cheng, Liao-yang, Mukden, Tieling, Kai-yuan, Chang-tu, Szuping-Chieh, Kung-Chuling, Fan-chia-tun, and Changchun. Some of them are provided with water works, sewerage systems, parks, elec-

³ These points are fully treated in the able articles "Japan in Manchuria" by Dr. K. Asakawa in *Yale Review*, vols. 17 and 18.

tric and gas works for lighting and heating purposes—blessings not enjoyed by many of the towns of Japan.

To care for the sick excellent hospitals at Dairen and Chien-Chin-Chai, with branches at nineteen other localities, have been established. The Dairen Hospital, provided with the most efficient medical staff and modern equipment, daily treats on an average seven hundred patients, and receives one hundred and fifty inmates. For educational purposes there have been established within the zone eight elementary schools, with seven subordinate establishments. To some of them are attached manual training schools and dormitories, the latter for the convenience of non-resident students. In some places the railroad company has established well-organized market-places and recreation grounds such as the Electric Park at Dairen, and in one town even a slaughter house. As no detail for the care of the living is neglected, so even the dead are properly cared for by the system of cremation and by the provision of cemeteries.

For administrative purposes the railroad company has divided the "zone" into ten units, whose heads, appointed by the company, discharge on a small scale, with the aid of a staff of employees, almost all the ordinary functions of a town chief, or a village headman. All public expenses connected with the undertakings described above have been paid by the company, while most of the local expenses are defrayed out of the levies charged upon the residents. Lands unused and some houses built by the company are rented to the residents on payment of specified rents. In 1911 the houses and population within the zone numbered respectively 14,867 and 59,361.

In addition to the long list of enterprises already given, the railroad company undertakes the business of warehousing; has established three experimental stations—central laboratory, geological laboratory, and experimental silk mill (the last was lately temporarily closed)—with the object of promoting the scientific utilization of the agricultural and mineral products of Manchuria; installed at Dairen a gas plant and an electric power house of 3000 kilowatts with which it runs the street car line of 13 miles; has built and maintains

excellent hotels at Dairen, Port Arthur, Changchun, and Mukden, with their customary appendages, barber shops, liveries and laundries; and has built elegant summer cottages on the sea-shore near Dairen to attract the visitors from Shanghai and other ports.

The expenditures incurred by the Railroad Company up to September 1911 for all the enterprises described were, beside the capital investment of 100,000,000 yen, in total 104,442,439 yen.

OTHER FACTORS IN SOUTH MANCHURIA

Beside the Kwantung government and the South Manchurian Railroad Company, there are a few elements which are wielding powerful influence in the development of the region. The Japanese settlers themselves, with a few notable exceptions, can hardly be counted among these influential factors. The great majority of the first stream of colonists were adventurers who came on the heels of their soldiers to hunt fortune with empty hands. They find it impossible to compete with the Chinese as farmers, who are content to work with the primitive methods on an incredibly small income. The wages of farm hands range from 15 sen to 30 sen (15 cents of American money) a day. Out of this scanty pay the thrifty Chinese are able to save money, as has been so well proved by large amounts of money found on the corpses of men who were found dead on the road side during the recent epidemic plague. Nor is it easy to beat the natives in retail business, in which they are past masters. The bulk of the Japanese population in Manchuria might, therefore, be said to be not in an enviable position. Their business as provision dealers, carpenters, musicians, etc., is mostly limited to their kin. The standard of their intelligence and morale has not hitherto been high enough to command respect of the natives, or of foreigners. But a better class of settlers now coming in will, it is to be hoped, bring with them the dawn of a new era.

To the above rule notable exceptions are found in some enterprising bean-cake mill owners at Dairen and New

Chwang, Okura and Company, Yokohama Specie Bank, Mitsui and Company, and a few others. Especially noteworthy is the activity of the concern last named. Directed by the best business talent at its headquarters in Tokyo, the great firm is now playing the most significant rôle in the commercial development of Manchuria. By dint of intelligence, foresight, and energy, it has created out of nothing the present most important item of Manchuria's international trade—the bean trade. In 1905 the first consignment of the crop was sent to Europe, which, however, ended in failure; in 1908–09 the export amounted to 397,156 tons; in the year 1909–1910 the export from Dairen alone reached 274,000 tons. Although the trade might be subject to many fluctuations, this means a newly discovered trade with Europe of 30,000,-000 yen or so annually. By the latest news, I learn that the soya beans have also begun to be imported into the United States.

INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

Turning now to the status of industry and commerce in South Manchuria the first striking fact is that the manufacturing industry is conspicuous only by its absence. The number of manufacturing concerns can be counted upon five fingers. A dry dock at Dairen managed by the Kawasaki Dockyard Company, the colliery and iron industry at Pensihiu by Messrs. Okura and Company, a score of bean-cake and bean-oil mills at Dairen and Newchang, a lumber industry of joint Chinese and Japanese enterprise on the Yalu, a British-American tobacco factory at Mukden, a cement works, a match factory, and a flour mill, and some native industries of raw silk and of distilling spirits from kaoliang, and a few others,—these constitute about all of the manufacturing industries undertaken in south Manchuria outside the sphere of activity of the South Manchurian Railroad Company.

The present source of wealth of Manchuria lies chiefly in its agricultural products. The principal products are kao-liang, wheat, and the soya beans. The annual crop of beans is estimated at 1,700,000 tons, which has the approximate

value of \$35,000,000 gold. The gross estimate of the Manchurian crop placed by some at \$40,000,000 gold must, therefore, be far below the true mark.

Commercially the soya bean reigns supreme. Other staple agricultural products are mostly consumed at home. Beans and their by-products—bean-cake and bean-oil—form the chief items of export trade. The value of the annual trade of these two items is between 70 and 80 million yen. The other articles of export trade are wild cocoons, wild silk, timber, cattle-hides, furs and skins, bristles and bones. The principal imports are cotton piece goods and yarns, flour, kerosene oil, railway material, machines and machinery, sugar and matches. The total value of trade for 1910 (January to December) that passed through the ports of Dairen, Newchwang, and Antung was 181,674,901 gold yen.

So much, then, for plain facts. The recitation given above will suffice to show the broad outline of what Japan has accomplished in south Manchuria within the short period of seven years. These works, be it recollect, were undertaken under strict limitation of power and influence prescribed by Treaties. In short, by maintaining peace and order within her sphere, and by her insistence that China suppress the brigandage and robbery rampant in the land, Japan has contributed in no small measure to the safety of person and property, and the well-being of the inhabitants. By setting good examples of schools, hospitals, and scientific institutions, Japan has demonstrated to the Chinese the blessings of education, medicine, and science, to which they were strangers for ages past. By fostering the growth of industry and commerce, Japan has considerably increased the comfort and wealth of the natives, and has opened to the world a store-house of treasure, whose doors were locked since the beginning of time. By these works for the cause of civilization and humanity, reënforced by the rights guaranteed by treaties with the interested nations, Japan claims to establish the *raison d'être* of her presence in South Manchuria.

THE "OPEN DOOR" POLICY AND ITS ALLEGED VIOLATION
BY JAPAN

One of the cardinal principles of Japan's Manchurian policy is that of the "open door" and equal opportunity to all. It has been repeatedly avowed by the Japanese government in treaties and conventions. Loud, however, has been the cry raised since the war by some western critics against its alleged violation. For a time the American public listened with eagerness to such charges. Indeed, the attack became once so popular that, it was asserted, a book on the Far East, unless sufficiently stuffed with the anti-Japanese material, could never hope to run the market. Synchronous with the tide of reaction against Japan that set in after the war, the past half a decade was the golden age of those authors. Slowly, however, the tide is changing. The late disposition of the western public to relish no longer those stale stories shows that it is not only weary of them, but has found strong arguments that go to upset them.

It is here fair to admit that some discriminations against foreigners there might have been, especially during the military occupation and the early days of the railroad management, if by discrimination is meant the favors conferred by the authorities upon their compatriots sooner than those given to foreigners, whose language and methods were not so intelligible to them. Again, the system of offering rebates to large shippers in proportion to their freight bills, abolished two years ago, ought never to have been adopted. Whatever might have been its business expediency, it was an unwise policy from national standpoint. It lent to Japan's enemies a powerful weapon of attack. Especially to the people, who have always looked upon this peculiarly American system as the means devised to defeat the "square deal," it was the cause of much suspicion. So long, however, as the system was open to public inspection, and its privilege enjoyed by all, Japanese and foreigners alike, it did not

loss of the Manchurian market for American and European products, and the striking gain for the Japanese. But the insinuations have fallen far short of the mark. For there are positive and too conclusive causes that have contributed to the success of the Japanese trade. The first and foremost is the fact that Japan is the largest buyer of Manchurian products. Out of the total export of beans and bean-cake, which form, as already stated, the major part of the Manchurian export, Japan bought in 1909 for her own consumption alone 94 per cent of bean-cake and 17 per cent of the beans exported—the two items amounting in value to over 30,000,-000 yen—beside handling herself the greater portion of the bean export business. So important is this fact as a commercial factor that it makes a writer in the *Far Eastern Review*, Mr. G. Bronson Rhea, exclaim: "It is a far cry from high diplomacy to the humble soya bean, yet we hold to the belief that the past and present commercial situation and ultimate solution of the vexatious Manchurian question is bound up in the control of this one product." In the purchase of other articles of Manchurian export, Japan is also among the leaders. It is but the simple law of commerce that places so large a buyer on the vantage ground as a seller over those who receive in return only cash for their wares. There are again other reasons no less strong for the advance of Japanese trade. These are the small cost of production and transportation, the facilities for financial transactions extended by the Yokohama Specie Bank, the identity of scripts and manners, and other means calculated to foster trade with the Chinese.

After analyzing in detail the subject under review, Mr. K. K. Kawakami, in his forthcoming book, "American-Japanese Relations," sums it up in these words:⁴

Japan has subsidized her steamship lines to Manchuria, installed commercial museums in various important towns in order to advertise her merchandize, sent commercial agents to inquire into the Manchurian markets, and, what is more important, has become a most liberal purchaser of Manchurian products, thus establishing

close business relations with the native producers and merchants. These, reënforced by the advantage which she enjoys over Western nations in geographical position, in the cost of production and transportation, have enabled her to push her trade in Manchuria with remarkable success."

CAUSES OF THE LOSS OF AMERICAN TRADE IN MANCHURIA AND CHINA

What interests Americans will be the question how far and in what line has Japan made incursions into their Manchurian trade. In flour, kerosene oil, and railway material, which are among the chief articles of American import into Manchuria, Japan is America's customer, not her competitor. In them America finds her rivals in Russia and Germany. The Harbin flour mills, the Baku oil, and the Sumatra oil of the Asiatic Petroleum Company (a German concern), and the steel mills and car factories of Russia and Germany have been hard at work to make raid upon the American trade. Though their efforts are not yet crowned with success, they have affected in a measure the American import. In supplying cigarettes to the Manchurian market, the Japanese tobacco monopoly tried for a time to wrest the trade from the British-American Tobacco Trust. But the superior organization and business method of the latter have again made it master of the situation.

It is in the trade of cotton goods alone that Japan has played the rôle of a successful competitor of America. Japan has developed the trade in Manchuria from nothing in 1900 to 151,400 pieces of sheeting, 52,000 pieces of drill, and 1,800 pieces of shirtings in 1908, while the American trade of 1,140,620 pieces of sheeting and 442,291 pieces of drills in 1904 has dropped to 515,195 pieces of sheetings and 194,570 pieces of drills, in 1908. For the year 1909 the imports of sheeting, drill, and shirting from Japan and America through the three ports of Antung, Dairen, and New Chwang, stood thus:

	FOR JAPAN	FOR THE UNITED STATES
	pieces	pieces
Sheeting.....	261,744	692,174
Drill.....	114,814	317,561
Shirting.....	109,174	166,042

These figures, however, must be read with caution, for as some of the American goods are re-shipped from Shanghai on Japanese vessels, it is often difficult to determine the true origin of the imported goods. Whatever may be the exact amount it is certain that America has sustained loss in its Manchurian trade of cotton goods, and to that amount Japan and England are the gainers.

The causes of Japan's successful intrusion are obvious—the cheap labor and the small cost of transportation. When it is remembered, however, that it was American cotton goods, because of their low price, heavy make, and toughness to stand washing, that drove out of the Manchurian market the English sheetings and drills reigning supreme fifteen years ago, America, if she has today the losing end of the bargain, "cannot complain that Japan has not given her a "square deal." Further it must be added with emphasis that, if the American cotton industry has suffered to some extent in Manchuria by Japanese competition, the American cotton growers have by no means been losers. The raw cotton imported in 1910 from the United States to sunny Japanese

striking article "American Defeat in the Pacific," which appeared in the columns of the *Outlook*, January 1911, points out that "it is not Japan that has slaughtered American trade in China," but "those who have benefitted by Chinese industrial development and by America's losses are the capitalistic nations of Europe." The reasons he assigns for the decline of American trade are: (1) "that in all the more important lines, such as cottons, flour, and steel, sales and distributions are in the hands of foreigners and are left to shift for themselves;" (2) "that the American trade in China receives no assistance from the American nation." The writer lodges a complaint against the American trader, naively adding that "he wants to sell to the Chinese not what the Chinese want, but what the American trader wants them to want." The time seems, then, to have come to look into the Manchurian commercial situation with proper insight instead of attributing everything to the wickedness of Japan's playing a Machiavelli.

JAPAN'S MONOPOLISTIC POLICY AND THE "OPEN DOOR"

What seems to lie at the bottom of the various complaints lodged against Japan by well-meant Anglo-American critics is their dislike of the excessive governmental activity in those enterprises which are undertaken in Anglo-Saxondom by private individuals. Japan has created state monopolies of tobacco, camphor and opium in Formosa; nationalized the railways; granted subsidies to steamship lines; and given aids to many industries. In Manchuria the Japanese government has the controlling voice in the South Manchurian Railroad Company. We have seen how wide and varied are the operations of the company. Indeed so all pervading seems the activity of the company in almost every sphere of life that one is led to doubt whether there is any room for private enterprises in south Manchuria. With the inborn Anglo-American hatred against the too-powerful

excessive importance assumed by the minor officials of the railroad company, the haughty attitude of Japanese towards the natives, and the air of exclusiveness the islanders have not yet succeeded in getting rid of.

This, however, is an Anglo-American critic's point of view. While wishing on our part that a more free and liberal atmosphere be infused into Japan's Manchurian régime, and that the unhealthy state of things therein, owing to the lack of individual initiatives, gradually mend itself, we must say that the prejudice of the western critic should not blind him to the fact that it is entirely within Japan's sphere to pursue at home whatever policy she deems it best to serve the interest of the nation, and, knowing her own weakness, to adopt in Manchuria within the bounds prescribed by treaties such proper measures as to ensure her strength in the face of keen international competition. No more can the critic protest against Japan's policy of granting subsidies and aids to different industrial concerns, than the latter can complain of America, who, in order to protect her industry, collects a duty of 50 per cent upon all imports of Japanese manufactured silk, and 60 per cent upon porcelain wares.

That Japan is sincere in her attachment to the principle of the "open door" and equal opportunity to all can never be questioned. Not only does the pledge so often made demand its fulfillment, but it is the true interest of Japan to invite the coming of foreigners for trade, and the investment of their capital in Manchuria. And how can this end be attained but by proving Japan's honest intention to share with foreign merchants and capitalists the profits of trade and industry in the region? The short-sighted policy of exclusiveness, if ever tried, will sound the death-knell to Japan's prestige and career in Manchuria.

RUSSIA'S ATTITUDE TOWARD JAPAN AND ITS RESULTANT

tions of greatest importance to Japan. First of all, there was the attitude of Russia that needed close study. That attitude towards Japan was for some time after the war, as might be expected, not altogether reassuring. Not only was there a powerful faction in Russian society, which openly advocated the war of revenge, often voiced by the *Novoe Vremya*, but the Russian government itself never relaxed its effort to strengthen its Far Eastern position. No sooner had it recovered from the shock of revolution than the government decided to construct at a cost of 200,000,000 rubles the Amur Railway, which, when completed, will run along the north bank of the river for 700 miles, and make possible the through communication from Moscow to Vladivostock on the all-Russian territory.

More significant from the Japanese standpoint is the plan of doubling the track of the Siberian Railway. It is now vigorously pushed, and by 1915 will probably be the accomplished fact. Japan, fully conversant with the masterly performance of Prince Khilkoff, which was chiefly responsible in saving General Kuropatkin from greater disasters than what overtook him at Liaoyang and Mukden, is justified in looking with fear upon this mighty military weapon when double-tracked. It has been estimated by some experts that the single-tracked Siberian road attained toward the end of the war the maximum capacity of transporting per month 60,000 troops, with all their equipment. The new road might then enable Russia to amass on the frontier of Manchuria an army of a million men, double the strength of General Linievitch's Grand Manchurian Army, within less than a year. Moreover, the Russian government formulated after the war a policy "to dispatch every year half a million colonists from European Russia to the Amur, Baikal, and coast provinces." Though the policy does not seem to work out as desired, yet the plan to raise a strong army out of the mujiks thus settled will see its consummation in not a distant day. "General Kuropatkin is said to have re-

river and the Amur Railway respectively the second and third lines. The General's remark shows with what wisdom and scrupulousness Russia is making preparations for future emergencies in the eastern world."

Russia apparently has already buried her hatchet. Her friendship with Japan is, thanks to wise diplomacy on both sides, becoming closer and closer. Their manifest common interests and destinies in the Far East will tend more and more to their coöperation. In this connection it is proper to say that Japan has never been slow, as shown in the diplomatic negotiations prior to the outbreak of the war, to recognize the Russian special rights and privileges in Manchuria, to which Russia justly laid claim by her civilizing efforts undertaken at a great cost. Although her mistaken aggressive policy is responsible for her Manchurian disasters of 1904-05, Russia has never forfeited her claims to those rights and privileges in Manchuria except those she transferred to Japan by the Portsmouth treaty. This liberal attitude of Japan and the willingness of Russia to join hands with the former foe in the solution of the Manchurian question are the foundation of their recent *entente*. And yet no one can blame Japan in taking proper measures for the defense of her own interest. When seen in this light, the strong pressure Japan exerted upon China to carry into effect the improvement of the Antung-Mukden line, and Japan's proposal to China to construct jointly the Changchun-Kirin-Hoityong-Chongjin line, will become more intelligible.

doubtedly shook China rudely from her centuries-old lethargy. Through these agencies the national consciousness came suddenly into being, manifesting itself in the "right-recovery" and constitutional movements. The Chinese government itself showed its disposition to set the house in order. Some reforms were, in fact, initiated. For military purposes it was declared that China would organize thirty-seven army divisions. The late war minister, General Yin-Tchang, had in his pocket, it was said, the plan of expanding these to seventy divisions.

Such a formidable military organization, if perfected and used to wreak vengeance upon Japan for the humiliation of 1895 or any other grudge China might have, would certainly be a terrible menace to the Island Empire. It was manifestly the anticipation of the dawn of such days that induced Professor Jenks of Cornell University to offer the good intentioned advice to Japan to get out of Manchuria, and thus court the good grace of China. It was not, however, this forecast of China's strength that specially troubled Japan. It was, on the contrary, the inherent weakness of China that caused much apprehension on the part of the Mikado's empire. Had China been strong, there would have been no Manchurian question. Were she to become truly strong, the question would be simplified. It is to the true interest of Japan to see China wide awake, reformed, and strong; for in such an event even had Japan to give up the Manchurian railroads and the Kwantung Province, she would be amply compensated by the expansion of her trade with her friendly and prosperous neighbor. Unfortunately, such happy days seemed to the eyes of Japan too far away. The half-hearted policy of reform and the time-honored diplomacy China pursued, in spite of the terrible lessons of warning brought home to her, gave Japan every reason to take a pessimistic view. The recent paralysis of the Chinese government, so complete, so pitiful, in the face of the revolutionary crisis, too well proves that Japan's fear was not misplaced and sufficiently vindicates her past Manchurian policy. Indeed, this *denouement*, whose outcome it is yet

words. It makes useless our task of explaining further the drift things were taking in the past. Here we only add our prayer that the present political upheaval of China, extremely to be regretted as it is, will be but the throes of her re-birth—a prelude to the bright days to come.

Suffice it to say, then, that the cardinal points of Japan's Manchurian policy—the preservation of the fruits of war, or, in diplomatic language the maintenance of the *status quo*, and that of peace in the Far East—were in constant danger of being overturned by the weakness of China.

This meant, on one hand, the possibility of encroachment of Russia from the north, that might bring to naught Japan's efforts of 1904-05. On the other hand, China's weakness opens a way to the introduction of a third power, or other powers, into the council-board of Manchuria, that might force Japan to repeat the bitter experience of 1895. All these considerations made it incumbent upon Japan to take proper precautionary measures to guard herself against future emergencies, and to strengthen her position in south Manchuria.

AMERICAN-JAPANESE RELATION AND THE MANCHURIAN QUESTION

It is but natural that Japan should look with extreme apprehension upon an intrusion of a Third Power, or other Powers, into the Manchurian arena, lest she be deprived of the fruits of war secured at such an enormous cost by those who have wasted therein neither a cent nor a drop of blood. An illuminating example was set before her not many years ago. Whatever the intention of the author of the neutralization scheme of the Manchurian railroads, it completely ignored history. It is but simple justice that Russia and Japan should have in the solution of the Manchurian question the voice their paramount interests entitle them to command. That the American government acquiesced in the failure of the neutralization plan through the refusal of Russia and Japan to entertain it demonstrates the disinterested motive of the ^{neutral} ~~neutral~~

When, therefore, Mr. Willard Straight says that "to create a substantial foreign commercial interest, and by so doing secure a political safeguard for the "Three Eastern Provinces," is as necessary to China's welfare, as the maintenance of her integrity and the preservation of the "Open Door" are essential to the realization of the well-warranted hopes for the future of our Eastern markets," we are constrained to raise a dissenting voice to the first part of his statement, which implies an aggressive political-commercial campaign of serious import. The declaration is tantamount to the confession that the furtherance of commercial interests will be used for political purposes. An American commercial campaign in Manchuria, if conducted with such an end in view, is bound to result in much irritation to the other vitally interested powers, if not in grave consequences. It is neither wise nor just. And it is the firm conviction of the speaker that the majority of the American people would endorse his view point rather than that of the representative in China of the powerful American syndicate. For it passes my belief that the wisdom of the essentially sane and practical people to whom Manchuria means nothing but a commercial and industrial field, where they have no historical, political, or military interests at stake, will ever allow their national policy to be harnessed to the financial machine of the money power, and be driven at its beck over the road that might lead them to grave issues.

So far as the American-Japanese relation is concerned, it will not be too presuming to say that there are no questions of importance, except the one under discussion, that are likely to endanger the long standing friendship between the two nations. Nothing explains better the attitude of the Japanese nation toward America than the conversation published by the *Jiji Shimpo* of September 15, 1911, between President Jordan of Leland Stanford University and Baron Shibusawa. The gist of this is that the Baron, after assuring the American visitor of the unchanging kindly and grateful feeling Japan has toward America, observed that his nation cannot feel sure of the friendship of the United States until a better understanding than the one reflected

in the neutralization proposal of Secretary Knox is attained on Japan's position in Manchuria. Is, then, the Manchurian question worth to Americans the cost of the Russian and Japanese friendship?

The foregoing are, then, the historical, political, military and economic grounds that have secured to Japan her present position in south Manchuria. Her future conduct will doubtless be governed accordingly. So long as this special position is fully recognized by other nations, there is no reason whatever why Japan should not welcome their co-operation in the development of Manchuria. Especially with her ally and friend, Great Britain and the United States, whose capitalistic power is paramount among nations, Japan must be extremely solicitous to join hands for the exploitation of the resources of south Manchuria.

THE FUTURE OF THE JAPANESE IN HAWAII

THINGS PROBLEMATIC, THINGS PROBABLE, THINGS POTENTIAL

*By Theodore Richards, M.A., Managing Editor of "The Friend,"
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BRIEF HISTORY

It was in 1868 that the first shipload of Japanese was brought to Hawaii to supply labor for the plantations and a large number of this body was subsequently returned so that in 1882 there was said to be only fifteen Japanese on the plantations in a total number of over 10,000 laborers. In 1884 there were nearly 1000 brought on one vessel, including 159 women and 108 children. It was at this time that the formal application was made to the Japanese government by the Hawaiian Sugar interest backed by the Hawaiian government to supply labor for plantation purposes. The agreement entered into gave the Japanese government an ample hold upon the Hawaiian government for the care of its subjects. An opportunity to make money in a foreign country and return with a competency, proved so popular in Japan, that 28,000 men applied for passage in the year 1886. Before 1896 the Japanese government interested itself directly in this immigration policy, passing a law in that year safeguarding the immigrant and his family in Japan by requiring a certain surety and then sprang up surety corporations which were practically emigrant companies. These have been undertaking the whole matter of emigration ever since, receiving transportation money from both the Hawaiian planters and from the expectant Japanese laborers as well,—due to the competition for opportunities to go. The maximum of Japanese on Hawaiian plantations was in 1904 about 32,000, which constituted about 70 per cent of the entire labor on the plantations. This was also about the

number in 1908 from which number there has been a fall to 28,000 in 1910. There has been no assisted immigration from Japan since about 1908.

As to total Japanese population in Hawaii at census periods it was in 1896, 22,000, in 1900, 56,000, in 1910, nearly 80,000. The discrepancy between these two sets of figures, making due allowance for women and children, leaves room for a goodly number of Japanese men employed in other than plantation work, such as is enumerated in the *Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor* under the head of Agricultural Pursuits, Professional Service, Domestic and Personal Service, Trade and Transportation and Manufacturing and Mechanical Pursuits.

In the matter of sex, there was in the early times a very great disparity, but as Dr. Clark has shown in his recent report to the Bureau of Labor, conditions are very much more nearly normal among the Japanese under twenty-one years of age, there being roughly, 55 per cent males and 45 per cent females the last year, while for the entire Japanese population it is still under normal, about seventy males to thirty females. This increase in females will account also for the very great increase in children during the past decade among the Japanese, an increase so great that one-quarter of the entire Japanese population is native born and it is conservatively estimated that in another census period fully one-half of the Japanese population will be native born. As the entire adult immigrant class of Japanese came to Hawaii in the prime of life, the death rate has been very slight so that the natural increase in this one race in ten years was nearly 16,000 notwithstanding that at the time of the last Governor's report more adult Japanese had left the country than had come.

An interesting fact that bears upon the Oriental situation on the mainland, is that between the years of 1902 and 1905 about 19,000 Orientals had left Hawaii for the American mainland and this number was very largely Japanese.

It must be admitted that in general, the effect of planta-

tion of a speedy return to their own homes has made them content with very poor quarters in many cases, and they have shown little disposition to improve them even when plantation managers would have been willing to assist them. It has been a great surprise and shock to their countrymen to find how indifferent the laborers on the plantations had become to the ordinary amenities of life in marked contrast to their former habits in Japan. This was natural enough: they were in Hawaii to make money and then to go home and enjoy it as speedily as possible. It should be said in this connection, however, that efforts originating in the Hawaiian Board of Missions have resulted in a greater pride in appearances, as shown by the planting of trees and the beautifying of rooms and quarters. This movement has been cordially seconded by plantation managements.

The wages of the ordinary laborer have varied somewhat, but the present rate is fairly suggestive of what has been the ordinary income. On a twenty-six working days basis, with a maximum pay of \$18 (plus bonus) \$15 is the average income, considering the fact that very few work the full twenty-six days. Disregarding bonuses and contract possibilities, which offers the chance of earning considerable higher than the amount quoted, it constitutes (according to Dr. Clark's statistics) about the average income of the mass of Japanese laborers. This estimate of average wages is thought by competent sugar men to be too low. At any rate, it is clear that the laborer's indisposition to work for full time, is the only bar to a very material increase of his wage. Out of this, it is figured roughly that it costs \$7 for board per month and an exhibit furnished by the "Higher Wage" champions in the case of the late strike showed that other expenses brought the total up to about \$12.50 for the average man, leaving a very small margin for net income. It has been shown in the report of the commissioner of labor that although the wages have advanced in the last five years a matter of 11.1 per cent the increase in cost of living has also risen 12.9 per cent.

It is claimed by the friends of the Japanese and generally conceded that the calls upon them are many and varied.

The support of their own religious worship, especially as in the case of the Buddhists, as well as the support of schools in which Japanese is taught, not to speak of amusements, make insistent claims upon the wage earner.

As to the character of their labor, furnishing as they have over 50 per cent of the whole, it must be conceded that they have constituted the very back-bone of the plantations and a large element in the success of sugar. It is probable that a majority of the plantation managers if asked for a comparison would state their preference for the Chinese field hand. This is due to the persistence, patience and docility of the latter. It is unquestionably true, too, that the sugar planters have become apprehensive of the control by one nationality of the labor market, particularly as the growing consciousness of national as well as local importance is noticeable in the Japanese.

It will be noted, however, that the number of the children of school age has increased until they are over 25 per cent of the entire number of school children and it is the present boast of the board of public instruction that school facilities are now furnished at Hawaii for all children who wish an education. This includes practically all of the Japanese children, who are intensely eager to avail themselves of educational facilities.

As to religious life of the Japanese, they can be said to be affiliated very largely with the Buddhists. It has been the apparent purpose of the Buddhist priests on the Islands to make the temples and shrines centers of Japanese national thought and sentiment. The principal sects which are represented in the Islands have been largely influential in building up day-schools where the vernacular is taught. There is a strong tendency now among the Japanese to make all their schools non-sectarian, toward which policy the Christians are lending their increasing influence. Through the leadership of three influential American Christian bodies, there are powerful centers of Christian activity on all the Islands and a number of strong churches.

It will be observed that in the above résumé of things as they are, no tables are directly used to support statements.

The writer, remembering the relation of "statistics" to "lies" (in that famous aphorism—"there are lies,—damn lies and statistics") makes his "statistics" likewise climactic. They will be found at the end of this paper.

While discussing "things as they are," the very briefest comparison of race and labor questions on the coast and in the Islands may be in point. Only the most salient and significant points of divergence are here raised. In the first place, it is here claimed that the Japanese population in Hawaii nearly equals that on the American mainland. As to race feeling, there might be said to be almost none in Hawaii as against very extreme sensitiveness on the western coast. One reason for this lies in the fact that the Japanese people in Hawaii came almost exclusively to engage in unskilled labor in which they displaced no American labor. It must be admitted, however, that in the last three years, skilled American labor has been displaced by Oriental labor, though the net number effected has been very much less in proportion. (One cannot but feel a pang of natural regret, however, at pathetic instances of American skilled labor in the cities now no longer able to compete with Oriental rivals, largely on account of different scales of living. This feeling is quite separated from one's fear that his own turn might come next.) The second difference between the conditions on the coast and Hawaii lies in the fact that as yet in America there has been no time for any appreciable number of children of the "antagonistic races" to grow up together. In Hawaii it has been shown beyond peradventure that a distinction of caste and race feeling is far less likely to exist where there is an intermingling of the children of different races. This is our *major proposition*; and the proudest of Hawaii's boasts is that she is the "Melting Pot" of the nations.

THINGS PROBLEMATIC

As to the future of the Japanese in Hawaii, one can safely call a number of things problematic and risk no reputation. Many of the brightest men on the Islands have been anxiously considering this Oriental question for years, as well as

have statesmen on our own mainland. They but raise their shoulders and elevate their eyebrows, as we too are doing in this portion of the paper.

1. What will be their relations to the sugar industry?

This depends on so many elements that a discussion of various contingencies must precede any attempt to answer the question.

2. Will the first generation of labor return to Japan in any numbers?

Judging from the past one would say off-hand, "Why, certainly." But when one considers that a return to the Islands again is not nearly as easy (if possible at all), as it was, you have a question more doubtful. Assuming that there will be no further federal legislation concerning immigration to the mainland and some of these questions would be easier. Minus any further legislation, we might assume still greater departure on the part of the Japanese to the American mainland, where industrial opportunities have been most attractive. With legislation,—such for instance as is pending,—the door seems shut.

3. Again, will the Japanese on the plantations strike as they did in 1909, developing a highly involved economic state on the plantations?

This, too, seems to depend somewhat on the question of further legislation, for it might be argued that if things remain as they are, they (the Japanese) have had sufficient bitter lesson in their late strike to show them that it is difficult for labor to keep up with the tremendous expense of the strike against a wealthy and well-organized industry. If, however, legislation makes it difficult for new labor from Europe or other sources to come, then arises perhaps a splendid opportunity for the Japanese to control the labor market.

The Dillingham Bill (Most Problematic)

A Senate bill likely to be passed in some form at the next session of Congress is of vital moment to Hawaii and the Japanese. It provides for the admission of no immigrants save those generally capable of becoming citizens of the

United States. Among such, it provides for a strict educational qualification for all immigrants, but it expressly excepts Hawaii. If the bill passes as it is, the present bureau of immigration in Hawaii (provided for by the last legislature) would be enabled to proceed in its program of bringing in immigrants from southern Europe. This would reduce the national balance of power of the Japanese labor in Hawaii. However, it is doubtful if the bill could pass in its present state. Considerable opposition will doubtless develop on the ground that Hawaii doesn't need to be removed from the provisions applying to other national territory. It is clear that if the exception favoring Hawaii is removed and the bill passes otherwise, the plantations must look for their labor from the sources now at their disposal, it being clearly conceded that so-called "white labor" neither could nor would compete with the present unskilled labor on the plantations. That means a very great increase in cost for labor up to a point where it might be of doubtful value to run some of the plantations on the present system.

Tariff Legislation (Always Problematic)

Attention has been recently called by writers on Hawaiian affairs to the fact that a large part of the sugar industry there is based on the \$27 to \$34 a ton protection for Hawaiian sugars. Should the tariff on Cuban and other foreign sugars be removed, it is certain that a number of our plantations could not exist at the normal price of sugar. This would effect the occupation of a great many of the Japanese and their continuance in the Islands may be said to depend somewhat on the tariff on sugar.

A Change in the Political Status of Hawaii (A contingency—though perhaps not imminent)

Some have dreamed that a sort of colonial status is the way out of the dilemma. The *Star* (one of Hawaii's ablest journals) in one of its leading editorials argues that in the event of the passage of the Dillingham bill, the only way our community could subsist, based as it is on the sugar industry,

would be by a reduction to a sort of commission government. The *Advertiser* (another able daily) at about the same time, looking at the probable increase of the Japanese in the Islands as a menace to our political future, arrives at the same conclusion, which the editor views with apprehension rather than a thing to be desired.

Intermarriage

Intercourse between the various races represented in Hawaii has been very considerable except between the Japanese and other races. That has been very rare, but it appears to be very much less improbable in the coming days, in view of the fact (before referred to) that the race differences are very much less among children who have grown up together. This is a very fascinating problem upon which of course there are no data. Analogous to the possibility in this line, however, is the fact that one of the finest race blends known is that of the Chinese and Hawaiian, which has already reached a very considerable proportion of the entire population in Hawaii. The result of this race mixture is most strikingly attractive from every point of view.

The Effect of Our Warlike Preparations (This is problematic as far as actual war is concerned, but among the "things probable" in the realm of unfriendliness)

The immense sums of money that the United States is spending in Hawaii ostensibly for defense cannot have any but unpleasant effect upon the Japanese population in Hawaii as well as in Japan. The menace of this fortification, contemplating in a shadowy way European aggression as well as that of Asia, is clearly addressed toward Japan, and apart from the sentiment of the situation, it would appear to the "lay" mind as though the expenditure was an enormous national waste. In part support of this fact it should be said that this expensive outlay is made on territory where there are an overwhelmingly greater number of Japanese aliens than of United States citizens. The writer has recently headed a small brochure on this subject "A

Million for Defense to Partly Offset the Twenty Millions of Offense." In this paper it was his purpose to show that extensive systems of forts and mines against Japan would be far more effectively replaced by a friendly appeal to them on educational and social lines.

Surely the above are little else than a bewildering network of uncertainties and yet we dare venture into the realm of

THINGS PROBABLE

It must be premised that this most presumptuous part of the paper is based on the occurrence of no catastrophic changes such as war, or other violent interference with economic conditions.

It seems probable that the major part of the present Japanese population will remain in Hawaii. Editor Sheba, one of the most influential Japanese in Honolulu, predicts that should the Dillingham bill pass, the Japanese will return to their own country for patriotic reasons. We feel like conceding that a few might, but there is overwhelming presumption in favor of the probability that most of them will stay. The reasons are mostly economic,—they are:

a. They have always been able to make more money in Hawaii than they could make at home and notwithstanding the fact that the cost of living has increased in Hawaii, it can be equally said to have increased in Japan. It is a matter of general information that poverty among the agricultural classes in Japan has been extreme, due partly to the depressing effect of continued war tax.

b. The chances for their children are notably better, seeing that the common school education lifts them out of the probability of field labor. This will be discussed later. But even at plantation wages, their children would be better off in most cases than in Japan.

c. They would fear the inability to return if they went back to Japan, seeing that the Japanese government is jealously guarding its emigration to Hawaii and the rest of America, by reason of the happy issue of the late treaty between Japan and America. Japan evidently feels it a

matter of honor to protect the United States in view of the fact that no demands were made on her by the late treaty discriminating against Japanese immigration.

2. Now, too, it seems probable that Japanese children will increase even faster than the normal increase of the territory. There seems to be difference of opinion on that point. Dr. Clark takes this position, of which Governor Frear seems somewhat doubtful as is another writer of statistics in a daily paper. We feel like agreeing, with Dr Clark, though it must be admitted that the last decade and its records shows an increase of children, perhaps largely due to the youthfulness of the women who have come to Hawaii in the child-bearing period. Then, too, there is the fact that the Japanese population has not been depleted as rapidly by a high death rate as will ultimately take place when they have been long enough in the territory to grow old. However, the most significant element in the problem is that there is more likelihood of marriage in the future where there is so nearly a normal ratio of males to females among them as the last census shows.

3. It is highly probable that the children will qualify for citizenship. The fact that the registry of birth certificates reached the number of 3475 in one year (1909 and 1910) is significant. Other figures do not seem to be available, but the fact that 13,000 Japanese males are under twenty-one years of age and of that number the greater part are native born, shows that the Japanese element in our population capable of voting will very largely increase. This, in face of the fact that at present there are only thirteen registered Japanese voters in a total of fifty-three male citizens of voting age.

4. Concerning their effect on the schools, in view of their increasing proportion, it is readily granted that they will probably change its "complexion." Here is no color of the skin referred to, but we concede that the schools will not be "American" in certain senses. For instance, they will not be "American" as the Chicago schools are "American" with their tremendous population of Germans, Irish, Swedish, Polish and other Slavs. They will not be "American"



field work, under the present plantation system—only ignorant labor will remain at it. In other words, there are chances for frugal individuals of any race to do better for themselves off the plantations at the present rates. On the assumption that it is impossible and undesirable for any part of the United States to keep any portion of the population ignorant, it is clear that ignorant cheap labor is doomed in Hawaii as it is doomed everywhere else in the world where enlightenment enters. It is equally clear that the sugar industry to endure must eventually reorganize. It is hoped that this change may be a gradual one in view of the large claim to recognition which the capitalists have in Hawaii,—who at large risk and with more than ordinary business skill have encountered commercial problems of great magnitude, reclaiming large areas of land and tying up large sums of money in the sugar business.

6. It is very probable that there will be much greater investment on the part of the Japanese in Island homes. Notwithstanding the fact that they pay less taxes than any other of the principal nationalities and have the smallest deposit in the savings banks—all this must decidedly change. Since they have considered this country as a mere temporary working place wherein to amass their money (which they have always sent back to Japan), the slimness of their local deposits is readily accounted for as well also as their very slight real estate holdings.

THINGS POTENTIAL

Here is undoubtedly the crux of this paper. With a desire to present constructive criticism upon possibilities of racial blending in the world's most perfect point of contact, the limits which need be placed upon a spiritualized imagination are only those suggested by common sense. It must be very clear to anyone who has followed the writer in the foregoing pages, that he regards Hawaii as the highly privileged leader in the great silent change in the thought of mankind which promises to rob the world of its most pregnant source of strife.

In a keen article in the *American Magazine*, Ray Stannard Baker regards Hawaii as furnishing a spectacle for economic investigation concerning labor and lands—and it may be he finds it interesting from other points of view as his article proceeds in succeeding issues of the magazines. Even admitting, for argument, that economic conditions determine world policies and international intercourse, yet we hold that the most potent influence might be claimed to be race prejudice in its effect on past as well as future history. We refer in this article to Hawaii as a "mixing-pot of the nations." We might as appropriately have called it the "Race's Experiment Garden." We have registered the hope that the Japanese element in our population may be an important link between two races which are commonly thought to be absolutely antagonistic. We believe most heartily that there is no necessary and indissoluble bar to affiliation and fraternity between the so-called "white" and "yellow" race. Despite very able and even passionate articles on the part of learned writers to the effect that amalgamation or assimilation of the peoples of the two races is impossible, we contend that to abandon such a hope would mean to throw over the finest aspirations of humanity and the strongest claims of religion.

Speaking of the "white race." What is the "white race?" Notwithstanding the very common and fluent use of the term, it apparently has no real legal status. It should be reaffirmed at this time that the Supreme Court of the United States has never made any ruling as to what the "white race" may consist of. The United States Circuit Court of Massachusetts finds the question most perplexing and it would appear that at various times almost every race including the Chinese and Japanese have been referred to as "white." Indeed, the decision above referred to in the Massachusetts court admits certain Armenians to naturalization, defining the term "white" as including "All persons not otherwise classified." It isn't out of the range of probability that with sufficient national pressure, the term "white" may be big enough to include the Japanese on questions of naturalization as on all other points. Until that

time comes, however, the whole American continent is palpitating between one of two positions. First, and naturally perhaps, is that of the Western Coast, which is probably represented best in that startlingly convincing article of Chester H. Rowell of the *Fresno Republican*, California, who sounds this note of warning:

"The Pacific Coast is the frontier of the white man's world, the culmination of the western migration, which is the white man's whole history. It will remain the frontier so long as we guard it as such; no longer."

In answer to this viewpoint, we ask the question,—"Is it physically possible very much longer to so regard this western frontier?" The answer seems as evident,—"Only at the point of the bayonet." Please God, this barbaric barrier need but a little longer be raised anywhere—even admitting that we are strong enough to raise it effectually in this instance.

But why is it desirable to maintain such a barrier by force of arms? It will be immediately conceded that many heart-breaking instances of hardship to individuals must take place in the merging of peoples and in the changes of economic front. But if the "whites" cannot survive in any solidarity in this coming merger, why should we attempt the impossible? Even to the evolutionist accustomed to draw his cold comfort out of the impersonal, dispassionate march of events, it must seem idle to put up frail human barriers. "Let the best race come and we will meet the shock,"—might well be his cry,—fairly sure, too, that the change must be a gradual one. But to the Christian philosopher the argument is plainer. Assuming a program following upon the lines of the Christian Book, there is but one ultimate outcome, namely, the final triumph of the Prince of Peace. If we pin our faith to His program,—His program as outlined in the Book upon which He set His seal of approval,—the coming fraternity of people completely overlooks their race or color or habitat. Ay, this program seems to include all of His subjects as none other than "Gentiles" whose rank but approximates that of the famous Bible race, alike the heroes of the past and of the future.

It is admitted that any talk of fraternity based on mere sentimentality, is a poor thing. *It will cost us very much in Hawaii* to prove that such a thing as brotherhood is even workable, but postulating the dominance in Hawaii of such a sentiment as can be called "Christian," there is reasonable hope of teaching the world that race prejudice is no better than any other prejudice,—that it may be merely meaner and deadlier. The very basis of Christianity demands the absolute admission of this proposition,—namely that humanity was endowed with the capabilities of brotherhood. And the Man, who was God, leads the way to its consummation and expects the aid of His followers.

A FEW OF THE ELEMENTS NECESSARY IN BRINGING THIS TO PASS

1. As far as the Japanese are concerned it means first, higher wages on the plantations and better houses for the present. It is clear that no adequate wage has yet been given to labor, even though prices paid for sugar should drop very much lower than they have been of late. While admitting that plantation managements have made wonderful strides in the improvements in the housing of their labor, and admitting even that labor is better housed and paid than under any similar conditions in the world, (which the writer firmly believes) there is yet room for improvement.

2. There should be opportunity afforded for ownership of land in connection with the sugar industry, or, as a partial substitute for this—the most desirable status,—profit sharing. This has been in operation on some of the plantations with some success. The laborers have probably failed to take up the opportunities offered in this line, fearing the ordinary risk of the crop falling short. In general, where there is no capital, there is much timidity concerning risks.

Of course, it is admitted that this change in the status of the sugar industry must be gradual, or capital (the proverbial goose that lays the golden egg) will suffer. It is neither fair nor economically wise that capital should be endangered



by sudden and radical changes. No attempt will be made in view of the limitations of this paper, to specify details of a land, or profit-sharing policy. Our sugar men are well able to cope with this problem, when they want to do so.

3. Another element in bringing about this fusion of people will be the educative one. Whereas the territory officers have made big efforts to accommodate all the children and the claim has been hitherto recorded that all desiring school privileges can have them, still it must be frankly admitted that the accommodations are very inadequate and the appropriations are altogether too small both for school buildings and teachers. Certain private schools, notably the Mid-Pacific Institute have gone into special efforts to meet the need of the ambitious company of Oriental boys and girls. They will want more than an ordinary elementary school training and they ought to have it. Nay, some of us are determined that they will have it,—the best that the Islands can afford. And we hope to bind them to us by ties of friendship which no shock of war or industrial cataclysm can disturb. Already in a peace movement which is known on two continents, five of the brightest students of Japan are seated among their Island born brethren, getting the best inspiration that American school life can give them. It is expected and urged that other attempts of this kind will be fostered.

4. In view of what has been said in the foregoing paragraphs, not much further comment need be made as to the religious possibilities in the Islands. A prominent business man of the western coast once said to the writer that he didn't know much about missions, but if he were to invest money in missionary projects concerning Japan and China, he would do it in Hawaii. His point was that when a people have severed themselves from old environment and have come to a new country with open minds to see and take in the best which that new country can afford, they are in far better position to drink in the religious truths which that country has to offer. A prominent religious leader is said to have exclaimed on the floor of a great assembly, "If you cannot bring the Chinese and Japanese to a personal loyalty

to the Lord Christ in Hawaii, it is perfectly futile to send missionaries to China and Japan." Ay, the burden upon the Christian citizenship of Hawaii is enormous and if it fails, which God forbid, its failure is abysmic. The future looks bright for a new order of things in Hawaii.

The data for much of the above historical sketch as well as many of the tables that follow come from *Bulletins of the Bureau of Labor*.

POPULATION AT CENSUS PERIODS FROM 1850 TO 1910, BY RACE
 [The data for population from 1850 to 1896, inclusive, have been taken from the Hawaiian Annual for 1901, and those for 1900 and 1910 from the records of the Census.]

RACE	Number						1910
	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	
Hawaiian.....	70,036	57,125	49,044	44,088	40,014	34,436	29,799
Part-Hawaiian.....	983	1,640	1,487	3,420	4,218	6,186	7,857
Foreign-born Chinese.....	364	1,206	1,928	5,916	17,937	15,301	12,508
Foreign-born Japanese.....	1,755	2,988	14,428	4,561	111	12,360	21,746
All other.....	73,138	62,959	56,587	57,985	80,573	721,797	21,674
Total.....						109,020	52,014

RACE	Per cent						1910
	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	
Hawaiian.....	95.76	90.73	86.20	76.03	49.66	38.27	19.35
Part-Hawaiian.....	1.34	2.60	2.61	5.90	5.24	6.97	7.73
Foreign-born Chinese.....	0.50	1.92	3.41	10.20	22.26	17.00	17.78
Foreign-born Japanese.....	2.40	4.75	7.78	7.87	0.14	13.74	20.48
All other.....	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Total.....							

¹These figures are necessary to make the totals given, but they do not agree with details as found in the Hawaiian Annual.

Bureau of Labor

ARRIVALS AND DEPARTURES OF ORIENTALS, AT HONOLULU, FROM JUNE 14, 1900, TO JUNE 30, 1910

JAPANESE				CHINESE				
	Male	Female	Children	Total	Male	Female	Children	Total
Arrivals.....	61,026	15,875	520	77,421	3,363	155	62	3,580
Departures.....	57,966	11,204	6,016	75,186	11,679	1,003	1,236	13,918
Net loss or gain by migration.....	3,060	4,671	-5,496	2,235	-8,316	-848	-1,174	-10,338
Net loss or gain by census.....	.....	.....	.....	18,548	.....	.....	.....	-4,064
Difference.....	.....	.....	.....	16,313	.....	.....	.....	5,274

Government's Report, 1910

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF PLANTATION EMPLOYEES OF EACH NATIONALITY, 1901, 1902, 1904-196

MATERNALITY	1901	1902	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910
American.....	.....	509	654	615	621	542	604	627	
European:									
Portuguese.....	2,417	2,689	2,876	3,194	3,286	3,334	3,807	3,826	3,906
Spanish.....					583	750	637	615	457
Russian.....									
Other.....	1,470	1,493	1,312	1,711	1,604	1,356	1,300	1,454	1,339
Hawaiian.....	2,096	2,086	2,086	2,029	2,017	1,878	1,939	2,024	1,800
Porto Rican.....									
Oriental:									
Chinese.....	4,976	3,937	3,773	3,988	3,694	3,248	2,916	3,561	2,761
Japanese.....	27,637	31,029	32,331	28,080	26,218	30,110	32,771	26,875	28,108
Korean.....				2,435	4,895	3,615	2,638	2,125	1,752
Filipino.....								141	86
All other.....	1,092	1,078	88	45	18	75	140	10	316
Total.....	39,587	42,242	45,960	44,951	41,524	44,447	46,918	41,702	43,917

	1.1	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.2	1.2	1.5	1.4
American.....	6.1	6.3	6.3	7.1	7.9	7.6	8.1	9.2	8.9
European:									
Portuguese.....									
Spanish.....									
Russian.....									
Other.....									
Hawaiian.....	3.7	3.5	2.9	3.8	3.8	3.1	2.8	3.5	3.0
Porto Rican.....	5.3	4.8	4.5	4.5	4.8	4.2	4.2	4.9	4.3
Oriental:									
Chinese.....	12.6	9.3	8.2	8.8	8.8	7.3	6.2	8.5	6.3
Japanese.....	69.6	73.5	70.5	62.4	63.1	67.8	69.9	64.4	64.0
Korean.....									
Filipino.....									
All other.....	2.7	2.6	0.2	0.1	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.7
Total.....	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Bureau of Labor

NUMBER OF TAXPAYERS, ETC., IN HAWAII OF THE PRINCIPAL NATIONALITIES FROM WHICH ASSISTED IMMIGRANTS HAVE COME, 1900

NATIONALITY	PROPERTY TAX			INCOME TAX		
	Number of tax-payers	Amount of tax	Assumed value of property	Number of tax-payers	Amount of tax	Amount of annual income
Portuguese...	1,794	\$24,451.41	\$2,451,141	110	\$1,473	\$73,671
Chinese.....	2,252	33,258.01	3,325,801	168	1,847	88,532
Japanese.....	2,515	17,481.79	1,748,179	114	2,002	97,930
Total.....	6,561	75,191.21	7,525,121	441	5,322	260,133

NUMBER, PER CENT, AND AVERAGE DAILY WAGE OF SKILLED HANDS ON A HAWAIIAN SUGAR PLANTATION WHERE CITIZEN LABOR IS BEING SUBSTITUTED FOR ORIENTAL IN SKILLED POSITIONS, 1900 TO 1910, BY RACE

RACE OF SKILLED HANDS ON A CERTAIN PLANTATION	1900			1905			1910		
	Number	Per cent	Average daily wage	Number	Per cent	Average daily wage	Number	Per cent	Average daily wage
Caucasian ¹ ...	7	11.11	\$4.75	7	10.14	\$4.85	7	10.94	\$4.00
Portuguese...	6	9.53	1.65	8	11.60	1.58	17	26.56	1.44
Hawaiian...	1	1.59	1.00	1	1.45	2.02	1	9.375	1.55
Chinese....	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	9.375	1.19
Japanese....	49	77.77	1.15	53	76.81	1.13	28	43.75	1.19
Total.....	63	100.00	1.61	69	100.00	1.57	64	100.00	1.71

¹ Except Portuguese.

NUMBER, PER CENT, AVERAGE DAILY WAGE OF SKILLED HANDS ON HAWAIIAN SUGAR PLANTATIONS, 1902, 1905, AND 1910, BY RACE

RACE OF SKILLED HANDS	1902			1905			1910		
	Number	Per cent	Average daily wage	Number	Per cent	Average daily wage	Number	Per cent	Average daily wage
Caucasian.....	1,352	18.3	\$4.22	322	14.6	\$4.38	346	13.7	\$3.85
Hawaiian and Part Hawaiian	1,100	8.3	1.80	*163	7.4	1.68	138	5.5	1.56
Portuguese....	110	11.9	1.69	286	13.0	1.61	309	12.2	1.49
Chinese....	111	5.8	1.22	155	7.1	1.06	151	6.0	1.27
Japanese....	1,075	55.7	1.06	1,272	57.9	0.97	*1,580	62.6	1.05
Total.....	1,928	100.0	1.78	2,198	100.0	1.61	2,524	100.0	1.53

¹ Including 2 West Indian Negroes and 1 New Zealander.² Including 3 Filipinos and 1 South Sea Islander.³ Including 2 Filipinos.⁴ Including 7 Filipinos and 1 Guam Islander.⁵ Including 6 Koreans.

This table shows that in skilled occupations the proportion of orientals has risen and the average rate of wages has fallen during the past five years. The latter is contrary to what has occurred in other classes of plantation work, as shown in the two preceding tables. The increasing employment of Oriental in skilled positions has not only lowered the average wage of all workers of this class, but also the average wage of each non-Asiatic race considered separately.

A Honomu laborer writes thus, showing his monthly balance sheet, which appeared in the *Nippu Jiji*, December 4, 1908:

The average number of days worked in a month is 21, taking the average of the past eight years. This will give, at the rate of \$18 per month of 26 working days, a sum of \$14.60.

The total average monthly expenditure foots up to \$12.50, leaving only \$2.10.

The items of expenditure are as follows:

Board.....	\$7.00
Laundry.....	.75
Tobacco, paper, and matches.....	1.00
Bath.....	.25
Rain coat.....	.55
Rain-coat oil.....	.15
Oil.....	.15
Contributions.....	.25
Shoes and socks.....	.60
Stamps and stationery.....	.30
Send-off money, etc.....	.25
Hat.....	.08
Hair cutting.....	.25
Working suits.....	.75
<hr/>	
Total.....	\$12.50
Net income per month.....	\$2.10

NATIVE SCHOOLS, BY YEARS, SINCE ORGANIZATION, OF TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT, 1860-1911

YEAR	NATIVE STUDENTS	NON-NATIVE STUDENTS	TOTAL STUDENTS	NUMBER		TOTAL
				INDIAN	CHINESE	
1862	320	3,800	1,352	1,289	...	229
1863	337	4,124	1,933	1,885	596	260
1865	333	4,335	2,341	1,499	693	260
1867	295	4,243	2,521	1,554	638	337
1868	262	4,448	3,313	1,875	457	265
1869	298	4,983	3,969	2,087	405	636
1871	273	4,537	4,547	2,197	392	161
1872	295	4,637	5,035	2,548	368	210
1873	243	4,537	5,513	2,590	365	224
1874	276	4,696	6,415	2,830	428	190
1875	266	4,662	7,078	2,855	372	260
1876	264	4,699	7,607	3,006	494	283
1877	264	4,699	7,607	3,006	494	657
1878	264	4,699	7,607	3,006	494	26,122

as of December 31; for 1862, as of June 30; and for 1868-1911, as of June 30 for public schools and December 31 for

PERCENTAGES OF RACES, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS

RACES	PERCENTAGE OF ENROLLMENT			RACES	PERCENTAGE OF ENROLLMENT		
	Public Schools, June, 1911	Private Schools, Dec., 1910	All Schools		Public Schools, June, 1911	Private Schools, Dec., 1910	All schools
Hawaiian.....	12.90	3.17	16.07	Japanese.....	26.42	2.70	29.12
Part-Hawaiian...	9.97	4.34	14.31	Chinese.....	8.87	2.63	11.50
American.....	1.67	■■■	3.96	Porto Rican....	1.69	0.16	1.85
British.....	0.35	0.24	0.59	Korean.....	0.68	0.40	1.08
German.....	0.61	0.40	1.01	Others	2.14	0.38	2.52
Portuguese.....	13.56	4.43	17.99	Total.....	78.86	21.14	100.00

An official report.

THE SECRET OF JAPANESE SUCCESS

*By Garrett Droppers, Professor of Political Economy in
Williams College, formerly Professor of Political
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No one can contemplate the state of society in Japan previous to the arrival of Commodore Perry without being profoundly impressed with its singular and in many respects its great qualities. The government commonly spoken of as the Tokugawa régime was the culmination and flower of the feudal system, but it differed from feudalism in Europe in many important points not the least of which was the entirely peaceful character of this period. From the earliest times to the rule of Iyeyasu about the year 1600 Japan was a rude and incoherent feudalism, clan vying with clan and faction with faction. Even when a peaceful condition was established in this earlier period it only lasted until some combination of clans could be made strong enough to overthrow the ruling clan. There was no stable equilibrium of powers in the country. But with the rise of Nobunaga about 1573 and Hideyoshi in 1587 the rival clans were reduced to submission and finally under the leadership of the greatest statesman that Japan ever produced, the Shogun Iyeyasu, the government was so firmly established that no important insurrection again took place until the shogunate was overthrown in 1868.

From the year 1600 to the end of the middle of the nineteenth century the institutions of Japan had a peaceful and for the most part an indigenous development. All foreigners were rigidly excluded and foreign trade forbidden with the exception of a few Dutch and Chinese ships at a single port. Iyeyasu reorganized the government on lines of ancient Japanese customs and traditions. The local clans with their lords, or daimyos, he confirmed in their pos-

sessions, but he reserved portions of territory for his own immediate retainers—the hatamoto—and distributed their lands in such a way that no daimyo could easily combine with neighboring clans for revolt. Later every daimyo was required to spend a certain portion of his time at the court of the shogun in Yedo, the capital city. The people below the rulers were divided into four classes, the highest being the knights or samurai, next the farmers, then the artisans and lowest the merchants. No member of one class, with rare exceptions, could enter the other class. Each class was carefully guarded as well as restricted in its privileges. The civilized world has never witnessed a like condition of peaceful development, of the supremacy of the state, of loyalty to the state, from the lowest to the highest, of a coherent and compact nation.

With the downfall of the Tokugawa shogunate after a brief struggle in 1868 and the collapse of the feudal system a few years later the modern era of Japan began. Step by step the process of modernization went on. The railway, the telegraph, the postal system, the reorganization of the army and navy, the development of foreign commerce, the establishment of a banking system, the abolition of feudal land tenures and the substitution of absolute ownership, the creation of a representative government, a cabinet administration responsible directly to the Emperor, all these reforms took place successively. New law codes in place of ancient customary law, a general system of primary, secondary and university education, all these and many other reforms were accomplished with a minimum of friction and a maximum of effect. It is a wonderful story, it is even more astonishing to the accurate student than to the casual observer. In some cases, I believe, the Japanese have exhibited more wisdom than their immediate foreign advisers who in the first instance were employed to aid them in the process of transformation. For instance under American advice in 1871 they introduced the American national banking system. It took the Japanese less than ten years to discover that this system was so faulty as to be useless for their purposes. The government sent a board of inquiry abroad to

study the various banking systems of foreign countries. This board patiently considered the most important banking organizations in existence and in an exhaustive report decided in favor of a bank on the model of the Bank of Belgium. In 1882 the Nippon Ginko—the great Central Bank of Japan—was organized with a view to replacing ultimately the national banking system of earlier date. This great bank has been of inestimable service in providing credit for Japanese industries and financing war loans at critical periods. When one remembers how poor in capital Japan is and what demands were made to carry on the war with Russia it must be evident that she must have had an excellent banking system to have withstood all danger of panic or commercial disaster. The Bank of Japan is the effective life principle of her entire credit system. Under the older national banking system it is doubtful whether she could have met the enormous war expenditure successfully.

This transition from a feudal organization of society to the modern régime including the successful prosecution of two great wars is the problem to be solved. What is the secret of Japan's success in so many fields of modern endeavor in competition with countries which have had the advantage of longer experience and larger accumulation of wealth? Are we here in the presence of an unparalleled phenomenon—a miracle in the evolution of nations—or can we trace the success of the Japanese to some principle of consistent growth, such as we find among some of the nations of the West?

Much may be said in favor of a theory advanced with some plausibility and force that the difference between the conditions of feudalism and those of the restoration is far less than we are apt to imagine. Modern scholars who have studied minutely the institutions of the feudal régime in Japan find in them the germ of nearly every modern institution. For instance representative government was thoroughly understood and practiced in the farming villages of Japan.¹ The Tokugawa government not only permitted

¹ See *Notes on Village Government in Japan after 1800*, by K. Asakawa, New Haven, Conn.

this form of local self-government but fostered it, and as a rule gave it unstinted support when in conflict with other jurisdictions. The same sort of self-government was practiced in the guilds, the five family group (Kumi) and in the family councils. From this circumstance we may conclude that the present prefectural assemblies representing the people of a given prefecture or even the national parliament are not an anomalous institution in Japan. The people were thoroughly familiar with the idea of a form of self-government and it needed only a slight modification to suit new conditions to make them thoroughly at home in it. In some respects the old feudal government was more inclined to favor the local autonomy than is the present government. It was the policy of the Tokugawa administration to throw off as much responsibility as possible wherever it was entirely safe to do so. If we examine other existing institutions, political, economic or educational, we may trace the nucleus of their existence to the feudal period. Banking of a sort was well established at that time. Bills of exchange, promissory notes and even checks, all on a limited scale as befitted a country without foreign commerce, were made use of. For the government at Yedo there was communication throughout the Empire carried on by runners with such effect that Kaempfer who was in Japan toward the end of the seventeenth century was astounded at its rapidity. Schools and higher institutions of learning were to some degree fostered. Department stores were by no means unknown in the feudal era. The samurai or knights were perhaps the most loyal and courageous body of soldiers that the world has ever known. Thus nearly every institution which Japan is supposed to have borrowed from the West existed in some form in this earlier period. The civilization of the Tokugawa period was in many ways a most complete and finished product.² So far from being wanting in the arts and refinements of a cultured civilization it would be easy to prove that for at least a considerable body of the people refinement toward the end of the Tokugawa period had progressed at the expense

² For a summary of the achievements of the feudal period, see *Feudal and Modern Japan*, by A. M. Knapp.

of vigor. About the middle of the nineteenth century Japanese reformers were attacking the luxury of the rulers and the decadence of the arts.

From this point of view then we have in the transition of Japan from feudalism to the restoration only a natural evolution, a transformation from the simple to the complex, from the less developed to the more developed, a growth without a serious break or strain. This interpretation accords with the modern doctrine of historical continuity, of social cause and effect and beyond question it throws much light upon some difficult phases of Japan's ready acceptance of certain reforms. The Japanese by their earlier experience and training, by their familiarity in the feudal period with economic and political problems were not the naïve and primitive people we at first imagined them to be, but rather a sophisticated people who needed only a slight impulse to appreciate the advantages of Western civilization, its larger scale, its more efficient processes and on the whole its greater opportunities for the individual. At the same time this mode of interpretation does not explain the striking and continuous success of the Japanese in the past thirty years, whether in the domain of politics or diplomacy, industry or finance, education or science, and last but not least of war whether by land or sea. The Japanese have exhibited a singular sagacity or common-sense which we have generally supposed to be exclusively our own possession or at least the possession of Occidentals. The many international complications of the past twenty years have shown that their capacity for meeting emergencies has painfully shocked some of the European governments and even caused the latter to sound an alarm of the "Yellow Peril."

The secret of Japanese success is I believe to be found in the relation of the Japanese to the structure of their society. The unit of Western society is the individual, however technically the definition of the individual may be construed for political or other purposes. In Japan under the feudal system both in theory and practice the individual was a subordinate consideration. The unit of society was the family. Nor must we understand by this term merely the

family in the Western sense of the word. In Japan the family may consist of sixty or seventy persons—it consists of all those who worship at the same family shrine. A family may consist of an entire village. From birth to death the affairs of each member of the family are regulated by the family—and in important cases by the family council. No Japanese would think of securing an education, of choosing a vocation, of spending his leisure, of taking a wife, or of leaving home on his own initiative. Such an act would be to him incomprehensible. Every act of every individual is determined not by himself but by the decrees of his family. It has been said that Japan is a paradise for children. No doubt children are petted and have their own way in that country to a much greater extent than with us, but only because it is understood that as soon as they get beyond the age of childhood their life-long discipline begins. The family never dies, it is perpetual, it is not a contractual institution, it is a religious commonwealth. No member of the family, not even the oldest, is free from the bonds of family discipline. If a debt is contracted by a member of the family it is assumed by all and in the feudal era might be an obligation imposed upon the family for generations. In every properly constituted household is a family shrine—either Shinto or Buddhist—at which each member worships daily.

In the institution of the patriarchal family the Japanese are not exceptional; the same institution is found in the early Aryan civilizations, as in early Greece and Rome the family was an all powerful and equally despotic commonwealth in which the liberty of the individual member was rigidly restricted. What is exceptional in the case of Japan is the fact that the patriarchal family has been maintained to within recent years and even at the present time is a vigorous institution compared with which our Western family institution is but a feeble relic. We may see in Japan at the present moment many social customs and institutions which have ceased to exist in Europe since the early Greek and Roman civilization.³

³ Cf. Ferrero's *Greatness and Decline of Rome*, Ch. 1. The analogies in some instances are striking.

Next in importance to the Japanese family, with its rigid discipline controlling the daily life of every member, was the power of the community over each family. As every household worshipped at the family shrine so the village community worshipped at the village Shinto shrine, set up usually in the outskirts of the village. The rule of the community over its inhabitants was supplementary to and quite as severe as the rule of the household over each of its members. And the thinking of the community was singularly homogeneous. To displease one was to displease all and the punishment for any serious infraction of the laws or customs of the community was terrible. To disobey one's parents for instance was not only to oppose the united will of the family but to run counter to the will of the community—it meant social ostracism, a far more effective weapon than severe corporal punishment. In extreme cases a person could be banished and that was in old Japan complete degradation and misery. Such a person could not go elsewhere because no family would receive him and he had no personal existence save as a member of a family. He generally became a *hinin*, a no-man, doomed to consort with the outcasts of society, beggars, strolling singers or jugglers.

Lastly every Japanese was trained in loyalty to his government and country. The technical profession of military loyalty was in the hands of the large class of samurai and to this class loyalty was not only a life career, but a religious rite with an elaborate ceremony. The discipline of a samurai was extraordinarily severe. Its puritanism in many ways exceeded that of any military order that ever existed. The code, written or unwritten, demanded sobriety, self-control, instant obedience. A samurai was a man of few words, simple and stoical tastes, and of the severest sense of honor. He believed that to him was entrusted the ultimate destiny of his country and his daily conduct, it was thought, should reflect that sense of responsibility. His children from their earliest youth were trained in the same school of stoic simplicity and laborious exercise. A samurai was not expected to show affection even to his wife and children or parents.

His wife was dignified sufficiently in being his wife and loyally conformed to the harsh conditions.

But loyalty was a duty not only of the samurai but was equally taught to and practiced by all classes. For instance the taxpayers were the farmers who paid their dues in rice, and judging by Western standards we might suppose that the farmers assumed this burden with some reluctance. But the farmers as a rule not only paid their taxes with alacrity but selected the best rice of the crop for their rulers. Tax-day was much more a festival than a day of gloom. Loyalty of some sort whether to the lord of the clan or to the shogun, or to the emperor, was part and parcel of the life of most Japanese. During the peaceful period of the shogunate, beginning with 1600, this loyalty expanded to far wider limits than had existed in the war-like years previous to 1600, but even under the Bakufu there were certain narrowing restrictions. Since the downfall of the last shogun in 1868, loyalty has had a national scope of which the Emperor is the center and soul.

This brief and fragmentary outline of Japanese society is given merely to show that the essential idea of the social structure in Japan under the feudal system was a strict subordination of individuals to groups and of both to the state. Such an idea as personal liberty never entered the minds of the Japanese whether rulers or ruled. Every person was supposed to have his proper place in the social organization and to be satisfied with that place.⁴ The people accepted this arrangement without question or doubt, and for the most part even unconsciously, inasmuch as it had its origin in a religious system that had existed from prehistoric times. Every individual had a secure niche, but the security was dependent upon perfect obedience to the system. It is often stated from our pulpits that religion is more a life than a creed, but in Japan it was all life, the creed was never formulated except in the writings of a few philosophers. Strangers in Japan are wont to express surprise at the placidity of all classes, their amiable humor and good manners. The Japan-

⁴ Cf. *The Legacy of Iyeyasu* where this view is strictly maintained.

ese seem to have little anxiety as to their morals or conduct. By contrast our own state of mind is one of worry. Some time ago there was an article written, I believe by Maeterlinck, on the subject of "Our Anxious Morality," as though we were in a state of uncertainty as to whether any individual would turn out to be a success or a failure in his conduct. In Japan there is much less of this for the simple reason that the social discipline and force of opinion as embodied in the habits and institutions of the people are so powerful that no one can escape them.

The system imposed a continuous discipline upon all classes of people. According to the *Legacy of Iyeyasu*, a document of immense importance in the government of the Tokugawa period, judges should be more lenient in condemning infractions of the law by the humble and poor than by the rich and powerful. The feudal society was aristocratic to the core but it demanded that each class live up to its status and privileges. In the 50th and 51st articles of this *Legacy* concerning adultery he states: "The upper classes are expected to know better than to occasion disturbance for violating existing regulations; and such persons, breaking the laws by lewd, trifling or illicit intercourse shall at once be punished without deliberation or consultation. It is not the same in this case as in the case of farmers, artisans or traders." In article 88 speaking of debauchery, it is declared that "it should be judged and punished according to the degree in which it constitutes a bad example for the lower classes." Each person from the lowest to the highest was expected to conform his conduct to certain conditions imposed upon his class. The mere spectator or man of leisure was not provided for. Hence a Japanese family reared in the old style is made up of a group of persons all engaged in busy employment, each with his or her allotted task performing the duties of the day willingly and cheerfully.

Lastly the sentiment of loyalty was a bond of union uniting each with the interests of all. Filial piety is the greatest virtue of children and loyalty the greatest virtue of the elders. Under the feudal régime to die for one's lord is not an act of sacrifice, it is an act of duty. Under the modern constitu-

tion it is a sense of obligation to advance the welfare of the country. Patriotism is not only a strong sentiment in Japan, it is a quasi-religious institution. The sense of the state is extraordinarily developed,⁵ thus contrasting vividly with the conditions in China where the sense of the state has been almost non-existent. Every step of progress in Japan during the past forty years has been attained by government action and the people have in the great majority of instances loyally supported their government. In Corea and China where loyalty to the government as an instrument of promoting the common welfare is relatively feeble, there are factions swayed by foreign interests—the Russian party, or the English party. But who has ever heard of a Japanese faction under the sway of a foreign power? Such a faction would be instantly condemned by public opinion. There is in the structure of Japanese society not a crack or cranny in which any foreign interest can insert its disintegrating wedge. The Japanese will accept foreign institutions, their science and inventions, with avidity but only to the extent, as they understand it, of leaving the social organization intact. What secondary influences these foreign innovations will exert in the future it would be hard to state. It must be admitted that Japan is bound to face difficulties in the future arising from her economic transformation greater even than those of the past and calling for all the resources of her statesmanship and patriotism.

Thus far at least Japan has done wonders in all the fields of modern endeavor. At present America is torn by conflicting opinions as to the best method of regulating the enormous aggregations of capital. Are we in any position to give advice to Japan—as we did forty years ago—on this intricate problem. Have we any ability to spare for the service of any other government when our own government seems absolutely helpless in the face of these powerful combina-

⁵Ieyasu is credited with the saying "The world is the world's world and not one man's." So also Uesugi Harunori, Lord of Tonezawa said: "The State has been transmitted by our forefathers and should not be exploited for selfish purposes. The people belong to the State and should not be exploited for selfish purposes."

tions? Yet Japan has met this difficulty in at least one instance with directness and courage. Some years ago the American Tobacco Company secured practically a monopoly of the tobacco manufacturing business of Japan by buying out the principal tobacco manufacturers. It was quite evident to the Japanese that this business was in the grip of a trust and without much delay or hesitation the Japanese government urged and secured legislation permitting it to buy up all the tobacco manufacturing interests and converting the private into a government monopoly. Since then I do not know of another combination of capital of the same sort. "Why this is socialism" some Americans will exclaim. I can give the absolute assurance that no country is less socialistic than Japan. She simply met an issue as it stood, without any extensive theorizing beyond the acknowledged principle that governments are instituted to maintain the general welfare. Japan took hold of the industrial monopoly problem in the same manner that she met the banking problem.

Foreigners who have lived a few months, or even years, in Japan are likely to underestimate the strength of the Japanese merely because the individual Japanese often seems to be unable to cope with the individual American or Englishman of the same standing or occupation. The strength of the individual Japanese does not lie particularly in his own self reliance and ability. Standing alone he is likely to be wanting in a sense of certainty, independence and power. But the inference from this observation is often mistaken. The Japanese soldier is capable because he is part of a cohesive system which by inheritance he trusts. His own death does not trouble him—he recognizes that he is only a fraction of a larger group. When the war with China broke out it was confidently prophesied by many foreigners who had only a superficial knowledge of the Japanese, that the Chinese would be victorious. These foreigners overlooked the fact that the Japanese army had behind it an organized government second to none in the world, while China though superior in resources and men, was wanting in the very elements of such a government.

Japanese scholars who have made a comparative study of

Japanese and Western institutions are well aware of the wide differences between the two types and admit the advantages and disadvantages of both. But they all inevitably tend to accept their own type, with all its defects, as making for success in competition with foreign nations. We may quote in support of this view the opinions of Professor Junjiro Takakusu, Director of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages. He says: "What is the secret of the corporate unity and oneness of spirit of Japanese soldiers and their remarkable discipline? What is the reason for the superior sanitation and commissary arrangements of our army? What is the reason for the utter scorn of death, which seems almost animal-like and that passionate patriotism which possess us. And finally what is the reason for the absolute security of military secrets. We must confess that looked at one by one we are weak but when massed together we are stronger than Western soldiers. And furthermore we Japanese have not only assimilated Western knowledge and mechanisms, but we have improved upon them in not a few cases, as for instance the Shimose gunpowder, the Murata rifle, the Arisaka gun and the Kimura wireless telephone. Our Red Cross Society while at first copied from the West, has attained a unique pitch of perfection and our relief of soldiers' families, our system of information, our care of prisoners of war and our issuing of government bonds, have all demonstrated that we can subordinate private and personal interests to public welfare, so that it is not too much to say that among the peoples of the world we are considered in this respect to be an ideal army and nation." (From the *International Journal of Ethics*, October, 1906.) He then gives his answer to this question. "The primary cause for all these phenomena is that in Japan the family is the unit whereas in the West the individual is the unit of society." And by family Professor Takakusu means not an institution in our sense of the word—but rather the family in its original and patriarchal sense. "In Japan," he adds, "the family system leads to mutual succor and mutual coöperation on the part of all those who are at all connected with it. The honor and glory of the house are the first concern of all. If there

is want in one section it is made up by another. And these families gathered together into groups, make a village, and groups of villages infinitely multiplied make a corporate nation. . . . It is this principle of mutual obligation which has given birth to Bushido and to the spirit of patriotism. A parent whose son is killed, although at first he may be inclined to rush to help yet will grit his teeth and say like Masaoka, 'It is for the sake of my lord and master,' that is for the state. When a telegram comes from army headquarters telling of the death of a husband on the battle-field, it is this spirit that makes wives rejoice that their husbands have fulfilled a soldier's duty. And from this same principle have come the wonderful military discipline, the contempt of death, the *esprit de corps*, the scarcity of Russian spies."

It may be asked whether a social structure in which the individual is so strictly subordinated to the group, whether the group be the family, the community or the nation, is as capable of developing the interesting qualities of life as is a form of society in which the individual has more play. This is a difficult question. Human nature adapts itself to varying conditions and resents any change unless it is stirred by a keen sense of wrong or by a passionate aspiration for the right. The average human being is far more inclined to accept revolution than reform, because the former can be accomplished by an abandonment to enthusiasm while the latter calls for the cooler qualities of investigation and mature judgment. But it has always seemed to me that the life of the ordinary Japanese, hemmed in by social barriers of ancient origin, limited by a severe social discipline, must be a dull affair compared with life in the freer West. But on the other hand a Japanese appreciates far more than the average American the small increments of freedom which he is permitted to enjoy. And even this freedom he attains only after a long apprenticeship to a severe discipline. A Japanese finds it difficult to cast off restraints—the social discipline is likely to be a weight which he cannot readily throw off. His moments of spontaneous good fellowship are fewer than with us. He is often secretive or ceremonious where an

American would be open and human. For in the end he knows that he may not follow his own judgment but will have to be obedient to another and greater power. It often happens that the spontaneous friendliness which has existed between an American teacher and his Japanese student is converted a year or two after graduation into a strictly formal relation. The young man has become part of a social mechanism—he is no longer free to say or do what he likes or even to cultivate the friendships he wishes. For him *Roma locuta est.*

But on the other hand no one can withhold his admiration from a people who are willing whenever the call is made to subordinate private to public interests. There are many notable examples of this trait in the past fifty years, none perhaps greater than the surrender of the feudal fiefs in 1871 by the daimyos to the Emperor. It was an act of supreme sacrifice of a powerful yet partial interest for the good of the whole. Hundreds of the feudal lords were reduced to comparative poverty and millions of their retainers lost their ordinary means of subsistence. Five years later the samurai yielded their right of wearing two swords—almost as great an act of renunciation as the surrender of the fiefs. Even the Bakufu government in 1868 made but a feeble resistance when it was once understood that public opinion was in favor of its abdication. During the more recent period of the Restoration there are many instances of the same kind. There is no private interest in Japan sufficiently powerful to antagonize the interest of the state. When it became evident after the war with Russia that the railways of Japan must be owned and operated by the government in order to maintain her military efficiency, the transfer from private hands to the government was completed in a short period of time without much controversy or friction. This principle that all private interests must conform to the general good will in the end, I believe, be a solvent of all future economic issues of Japan and keep it in the very forefront of civilized nations.

The secret of Japanese success is their social solidarity, their oneness of aim and purpose, their cohesion of interests,

and above all their faith in the supremacy of their government, as an instrument of the common welfare.

To turn for a moment from Japan to our own country. No one can fail to note the confusion of private interests at present in America, the chaotic advice, the uncertainty of any constructive policy by the government. The leaders of commercial and industrial enterprises are dissatisfied with the existing conditions and yet make no suggestion for a more rational policy. Unrestrained monopoly cannot be tolerated, yet every restriction is met by bitter opposition and criticism. Are we inferior to the Japanese in patriotism, in capacity or in public spirit? Is our love of private gain so overmastering that it cannot yield to a more generous sentiment? The policy of "jamming things through," in America, whatever the obstacles may be, may produce a few leaders of capacity and power, but their gain must ultimately be the nation's loss. In such men the sense of the state is atrophied. They do not perceive the cohesion of interests, the interrelation of parts, and resent any suggestion that their activities must be subordinated to larger considerations.* To such men the Japanese point of view would be devoid of vitality and adventure. Such men are blind to the secret of Japanese success.

THE MODERN JAPANESE CHRISTIAN CHURCH ITS RELATIONS TO MISSIONS IN JAPAN; TO THE EVANGELIZATION OF THE ORIENT; TO THE ULTI- MATE INTERPRETATION OF CHRISTIANITY

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The subject assigned me confines the discussion within rather narrow limits. The term "modern," as applied to foreign missions, commonly signifies roughly the nineteenth century. For Japan then it includes only the period subsequent to Perry's treaty, 1854. "Japanese Christian Church" I interpret to mean, for the purposes of this paper, not the church in Japan but the Christian church in so far as it has come under Japanese administration—become, so to speak, indigenous, "Japanese." Thus it will be seen that the work of the Jesuits in the sixteenth century and the work of several modern foreign missions which is still under the administration of the European missionary, effective and noble as all that work has been and is, does not here come under review. This paper deals rather only with those communions that have lately become nationalized.

BEGINNINGS

It goes without saying that the Christian church in Japan was the fruit of the labors of the foreign missionary as the first human agency. When the first modern missionaries went to Japan there was no church and barring some believers who remained from the work of Xavier, who for generations handed down their faith from father to son, and who held that faith only in secret, there were no Christians. Not only so, there was not even an ear to hear. The faith and teaching which the missionaries

took was a bitterly hated and strictly prohibited thing. At first then the missionaries sowed the seed, and reaped the first-fruits, preached, taught, baptized and gathered into churches. It could not be otherwise.

EARLY GROWTH

The first church was organized at Yokohama, March 10, 1872. It consisted of nine members, was not denominational, and was felicitously named "The Church of Christ in Japan."

From this early time the Japanese Christians were zealous for the conversion of their countrymen. During the next decade to be sure the missionaries took the leading part in Christian work and exercised, directly or indirectly, very large influence in the affairs of the young churches themselves. But the members of the little native Christian community nearly all took upon themselves responsibility for bringing others to the knowledge of the truth. At the beginning of the decade the idea seemed to obtain that to become a Christian was to become an evangelist; and by the latter part of the decade native ministers had been trained in theology and some were ordained. Little missionary societies were organized, some of which have lived and grown till today; and at least one Christian weekly began to be published.

The next two decades (1883-1903) saw many vicissitudes, seed sowing and rapid ingathering—some years the church membership was increased by more than a half or almost doubled—now a season of reaction when Christianity lost favor among the people, and again a period of readjustment when numerical growth was much retarded and theological beliefs were greatly and rapidly modified, when faith was shaken and some strong workers swerved from their pristine faith and left the ministry; some left the church altogether. Later, just before the next period when began the absorbing quest for a healthy independence, the church settled down to a more normal growth. But amidst all the vicissitudes of these two decades there was advance

in numbers, advance in intelligence of the faith, advance in the institutions of organized Christianity, advance in the responsibility borne by the Japanese ministers, advance in the whole life of the church toward a native, Japanese form of Christianity.

REACHING MATURITY

From the comparatively early days of the organized churches there were in each of the larger communions strong men, Japanese, who were capable of leading in the organization of the churches themselves and in that of the other institutions of the Christian community. They were effective preachers, some of them preëminent. Others wielded a powerful pen. There were within the churches educators of influence and laymen of national, even of international fame for the institutions which they founded in the spirit of the Master for the salvation of the orphan, the wayward, the ex-convict, and for other unfortunates. There had grown up a body of men in the churches who were in fact what some of them have since come to be called in word "The Leader." Back of them too the rank and file of the church membership were full of an increasingly strong desire for independence.

At the same time the most influential missionaries to Japan, both those who bore commission from American and European missionary boards and the few like Janes at Kumamoto and Clark at Sapporo who were providentially led to Japan just at the psychological moment, and who served her people for very limited periods, were men who appreciated that Christianity is a life and not form and dogma. They were content to see Western *forms* of church life and Western *statements* of Christian truth disregarded, if only the *life* itself and the *truth* itself should take root in the hearts of the people. Mark Hopkins when president of the American Board said, "It is our business to make Christians and not Congregationalists." This was from the first the attitude of the American Board's mission. It was largely the attitude also of the missions

of other communions. The Right Reverend Bishop Andrews, English Bishop of the Episcopal Church in Hokkaido, regards self-support as a most vital question in the Japanese church today, not to save a few pounds of gold to the English church, but to bring to the Japanese church a new life in all its abundance. In the interest of self-support and independence a portion of the missionary work within his diocese and in that of Kyushu too has been made diocesan.

The fundamental purpose then of most of the missions to inculcate the Christian life in such wise that it should manifest itself in forms and expressions native to the country; the increasing number and power of individual Japanese "leaders" fitted by inheritance and training, by real ability, and by personal experience of the Christian life for wise and effective leadership; and the increasing readiness on the part of the laity to assume the responsibilities, financial and other, of a self-supporting, self-propagating Japanese church—all these things conspired to encourage the hope of an early realization of a thoroughly nationalized Christianity.

At this juncture came the Russian War of 1904-5 with its uninterrupted series of signal victories for the Japanese arms. The terms of the Portsmouth treaty of peace were unsatisfactory to a portion of the Japanese public. But the eighteen months of fighting and of successes culminating in the wonderful battles of Moukden by land and of Tsushima in the Japan Sea served as a powerful stimulus to the already rising national self-consciousness. The nation came to a vivid sense of its power and importance and to a no less vivid sense of its responsibility in the Eastern world and in the whole world.

And just as the nation was stimulated by these events so also was the Christian community. The churches came to feel more keenly than ever the need, the compelling importance, of complete independence of any thing that looked like foreign control. Should the spirit of the church of Christ lag behind the spirit of the nation? The Christians must needs have this independence alike for their

own self-respect and for their standing in the eyes of the non-Christian public. To continue to have his affairs controlled by the foreign emissary marked the Japanese Christian in his own eyes and in the eyes of his non-Christian neighbor as falling in point of citizenship and nationalism below his fellow-countrymen. To continue receiving financial aid from foreign mission boards moreover seemed to imply some sort of foreign control in the affairs of the churches aided. Two decades earlier the Christian leaders had been recognized as the leaders in society at large. Now they are losing this leadership and falling to a place of relatively inferior influence and power. Something must be done. Obviously the first thing to be done was to secure full independence of foreign control and in order to this independence of control the churches must rise to independence of financial aid. Men of spiritual insight also saw that only by such independence and self-support could the churches rise to their opportunity and worthily present Christ to their fellow-countrymen, not to mention neighboring peoples. Thus it transpired that since about the time of the Russo-Japanese War all the churches experienced a great impulse toward independence and self-support and three great communions, the Congregational, Presbyterian and Methodists, have already attained to that goal.

The history of this phase of church development is intensely interesting and profoundly important. As we proceed in the study of the times it will become apparent that almost everything really turns upon financial self-support and very little need be said about independence of mission control *per se*. The reason is not far to seek. In the great communions the churches from earliest times had developed a considerably self-governing organization. This is most strikingly illustrated perhaps in churches of the Congregational order of government where the local church alone is the seat of authority and that local church is organized to conduct its own affairs without vote or voice from the outside. But self-government is hardly less a fact in the Presbyterian order, for here also the local church

is first, and is self-governing through its session. Later a group of such local churches form themselves into a Presbytery which is self-governing, ordering certain phases of the life of the local churches of which it is composed but not looking to any higher authority outside itself until a group of Presbyteries organize themselves into Synod or Assembly to be over them an authority within limits. In the Methodist churches also which are Episcopal in order and have a foreign bishop appointed by the home churches great pains seems to have been taken by the missions in Japan to give large place to the voice of the native brethren in matters of church government.

Let us glance now somewhat in detail at the later steps of development of the three great communions in attaining to full self support and independence.

In the Kumi-ai (Congregational) body as above intimated, owing to the policy of the American Board mission, to the earnestness and ability of the Japanese ministers, and to the intrinsic character of the Congregational polity, there had been from early times local churches self-governing, local associations self-governing and a National Council, meeting annually, self-governing. Still there was a certain indefiniteness in the relations between these several self-governing bodies on the one hand and the American Board mission on the other. There was perhaps a modicum of influence emanating from the mission by virtue of the financial aid granted to a few of the local churches and by virtue too of the coöperation by men and money of the mission with the national body and in some instances with a local association or even with a local church in regular evangelism in new fields. There was need of clearly defining relations, of sealing the independence of the Kumi-ai body, and of forming plans by which that body could push evangelization in a way more adequate to the spirit of the times and more adequate to the great opportunity.

Accordingly in 1905 two committees, one of the Kumi-ai churches and one of the American Board mission, were chosen to consult together about ways and means. The joint meetings of these two committees were marked by

frank expression of opinion and great cordiality of feeling. The Japanese committee were eager for some plan by which should be ushered in a new and more effective era in the development of their churches and also a forward movement in the evangelization of their country. It was finally proposed by the missionaries that the Japan Missionary Society, organ of the Kumi-ai churches, take over some thirty of the churches and congregations hitherto aided by the mission and become responsible for their support and development. The Kumi-ai committee, after due deliberation, heroically accepted this heavy responsibility. For this purpose a budget was made up of two items, first 8700 *yen* as a parting gift from the mission to the thirty churches, to be paid during three years, and second the promise of the Japanese body to raise 6000 *yen* during a like period. At the expiration of the three years "eighteen churches had actually assumed self-support, and six had been handed over by the Japan Missionary Society to the local associations within whose borders each was located. Three more attained self-support January 1, 1909, and the remaining are under some kind of provisional care."¹ Since January 1, 1909, the Kumi-ai body has been fully self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating; it might also be added self-respecting—a veritable pillar and ground of the truth.

For the "Church of Christ in Japan," as the churches of Presbyterial government are called, unfortunately the way to a like independence lacked something of perfect harmony between the Church and the associated missions. To begin with there were four associated missions to be dealt with, Presbyterian North, Presbyterian South, German Reformed and Dutch Reformed; and these four missions differed somewhat among themselves in their opinions as to relations with the native church. A slight difference of theological belief and a question concerning the use in the Meiji Gakūin Theological School of W. N. Clarke's *An Outline of Christian Theology* had arisen to disturb some-

¹Christian Movement in Japan, 1909, p. 224.

what a perfect cordiality of feeling. When negotiations for the adjustment of coöperative relations between the church and the missions began moreover there was a tendency on both sides to insist upon rights.

In February, 1906, a committee of the Synod of the "Church of Christ in Japan" (Presbyterian) made the following statement: "It is now more than thirty years since the church was founded. It extends from one end of Japan to the other, and carries on its work through a Synod and Presbyteries. It has a board of missions actively engaged in the work of evangelization and the establishing of churches. Therefore it seems to it reasonable to claim that it has a right to a voice in all work carried on within its organization or closely connected with it. That is the principle for which the Synod stands; and for which it believes that churches in other lands, under like circumstances, would stand.²

On the other hand, some of the missions were disposed to urge their rights. Dr. Arthur J. Brown in his discussion at the World's Missionary Conference, 1910, said: "I heard a great deal during my tour in Asia about the rights of the boards and societies in the missions which ought to be preserved. I would rather go to the other extreme and say, ""we have no rights in Asia and Africa except the rights to serve our brother in the name of Christ." This insisting on rights by both parties, theological differences, etc., proved considerable of a hindrance to the progress of the negotiations and somewhat of a disturber of cordial feeling. But these things could at worst only retard somewhat such an adjustment of relations as should ultimately leave the native church a thoroughly self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating church of Christ. And that consummation has now been successfully reached with two methods of coöperation or affiliation with the four associated missions, according as each mission may elect.

The same kind of movement for independence occurred

in the Methodist fellowship. In a general conference, May 22-June 2, 1907, was consummated a union which consolidated into one Japan Methodist Church results of the work of missions of the Methodist Episcopal, Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and the Methodist Church, Canada. On Sunday, June 2, Rev. Yoitsu Honda was duly consecrated as first bishop of the new united Japan Methodist Church. Bishop Honda is the first Japanese bishop of any church. He is probably the first bishop to be consecrated from any of the Far Eastern peoples.

With regard to the relations of the missionaries to this new church, the Japanese members of the conference made the overture which is embodied in the following resolution:

Resolved: That every missionary regularly appointed by the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, or the Methodist Church, Canada, to work in coöperation with the Methodist Church of Japan, as contemplated in the basis of union adopted by the commissioners of said churches, shall by virtue of such appointment be entitled to all the rights and privileges of actual membership in the annual conference where his service is being rendered, so long as his administration and conduct conform to our discipline.

Every such missionary who may in writing elect to serve in this relation shall be subject to the assignment and direction of the missionary authorities of the church by which he is supported, in consultation with the *Kantoku* (bishop).

In the event of his non-conformity to our discipline, the *Kantoku* shall in writing so advise the missionary authorities of the church to which such missionary is responsible; and the course to be pursued shall then be determined by consultation between the *Kantoku* and said missionary authorities.⁴

These terms were considered quite satisfactory and were cordially accepted by most of the missionaries. Accordingly the missionaries now "are either *Bucho* (presiding elders or chairmen), evangelists at large itinerating over part or the whole of a district, or by the joint action of the appointing power of their respective missions and Bishop Honda, assigned to the oversight of particular fields, or, in some cases, they are left free to develop work

⁴Cary's History of Christianity in Japan, p. 341.

of their own in the cities where they reside or in the surrounding country, alway however making it contributory to the work of the Japan Methodist Church."⁵

The Episcopal and Connexional organization is proving a heavy financial burden but the brethren are struggling with it manfully and in time they are bound to win out.

Through this somewhat detailed survey it will be seen that Christianity in its Congregational, Presbyterian and Methodist forms has taken root in Japan. The institution of the church has become native to the soil. It has become nationalized. The other communions are pressing on toward the same state of maturity. For the most part the foreign and native workers alike are eagerly anticipating the day when each can say, "our church has been planted in Japan."

RELATION OF NATIVE CHURCHES TO MISSIONARIES

There was a period of about a decade just before the negotiations for independence above outlined when the relations between the missionaries and their Japanese brethren were from time to time considerably strained. It was a period when the Japanese and foreign workers were coöperating in the work of Christianizing Japan, but the methods of coöperation were less clearly defined. The missions were working along the lines that had been in use for many years. They were sometimes inclined to regard themselves as the principal workers and their Japanese brethren as "helpers," "native agents," or what-not, according to the terminology of the home boards used in statistical tables and in reports where the work among uncivilized tribes and highly civilized peoples was all treated alike. The foreigners were also not infrequently rather over tenacious of "orthodox" statements of Christian truth, despite the fact that it was their general purpose to promulgate a life rather than a form the truth of

also felt such responsibility toward their home boards in the administration of funds as now and again gave offense. In short, the missionaries had not yet become fully acclimated. They were still working in a sort of religious extra-territorial atmosphere.

At the same time, the real life of the Japanese churches and ministers was rapidly developing. Their leaders were more and more becoming competent leaders. They chafed under the financial restraints. Their Oriental intuition in the interpretation of the Oriental Bible and the Oriental Christ made it impossible for them to express their faith in the terms of Occidental, much less in those of medieval creedal statements; and the mere suggestions of the "native helpers" sort of missionary report, however much they might be explained away, were an offense to the sensitive Japanese spirit. Moreover, our Japanese brethren felt that all this sort of relation of subordination to the foreign propagandists prejudiced them in the eyes of their own nationals and greatly hindered the progress of the Gospel and the growth of their churches.

The actual working out of such relations moreover, in all honesty be it confessed, led to no little mutual irritation and friction. Occasionally, a joint committee of Japanese and foreigners would be divided concerning some question under discussion exactly on race lines. This fact itself tended to rouse feelings other than fraternal. Is it any wonder that both Japanese "leaders" and foreign workers earnestly desired a better way? The wonder is that the missionaries didn't sense the situation and remedy it earlier. But perhaps the time and the native church were not ripe for the change much earlier than it came.

Now that the organic relations between the three great Japanese bodies and the associated missions have been clearly defined the relations of the individual missionary have also become clear and pleasant. There is a new cordiality on the part of the churches, their laity and their ministry alike, toward the foreign missionary. They rejoice in our presence, welcome our aid and seek an increase in our numbers. They welcome us as individuals

into church fellowship and as members of the churches they welcome us to a place in the local and national bodies. In the Methodist body foreigners in some cases serve as presiding elders. The happy solution of the problem of relations in these three bodies, Congregational, Presbyterian and Methodist, has blazed the way for a like happy adjustment in all the other communions which will undoubtedly in due time be fully realized.

INCREASED AGGRESSIONESS

Beginning with the period of endeavor on the part of the Japanese churches for a full independence—for convenience, say the close of the Russo-Japanese War in 1905—there has been a notable increase in activity, a new aggressiveness amongst the churches. Old lines of effort have been retained and vigorously pushed. Individuals of the Christian community have zealously and effectively led in various forms of eleemosynary work, orphanages, prison-gate efforts, schools for the blind, etc. Still eleemosynary work is the point perhaps where today the churches most feel their inadequacy, a point also at which foreign workers are able to render most effective service. They are doing so in the rescue of fallen women, in settlement work, in leper hospitals and in other like endeavor.

There is an increasing volume of Christian literature issuing from the presses, periodical literature and literature in the more full and permanent forms. But most of this is sporadic and disconnected. There is now being put forth an effort to produce more systematically a literature suited to the need of the times. The Japanese because they write in their own tongue are the most effective writers. But missionaries are active in forwarding the plans and in producing certain works for which no competent Japanese author seems as yet to have arisen.

In education also a new impetus seems to have been given. The churches are uniting in an effort to develop

purpose of raising up a better equipped ministry for leadership in churches and a better equipped laity for leadership in public affairs, in all the walks of life. As yet however the things to record in educational effort are plans in the making rather than institutions founded.

As should be expected the most strenuous efforts of the churches have been put forth in direct evangelism. At the beginning of the negotiations for independence and really as a part of the movement for independence the Kumi-ai churches inaugurated a special campaign for evangelism to continue through one whole year. A special budget was raised by prominent laymen to meet the expenses of this campaign. The same sort of thing has been done now for six successive years. The methods of evangelizing have been varied as experience has shown wise and as conditions in the churches and in society have seemed to demand. But the great forward movement has continued with what we hope to be increasing effectiveness, till for the year 1910 the accessions to the churches on confession of faith were about one-tenth of the total membership. And there has been a similar forward movement in evangelization in the Presbyterian and Methodist bodies with similar gratifying results.

This extra and somewhat extraordinary evangelistic work has been carried on chiefly by pastors who have their own churches to care for and who really have more work in their own several parishes than they can do. Prominent laymen and missionaries have helped in the campaigns as they have been able. But the planning of the work and the chief labor of carrying the plans have been done by the Japanese pastors who are already over-worked.

At the same time these three great churches have had a care for their fellow nationals who have emigrated to Hawaii, to America, to Korea, to Manchuria, to China and elsewhere. Especially have they sent missionaries to the Japanese in Korea and Manchuria and organized Japanese churches in those countries.

And, latest and ripest of the fruit of independence, Japanese Christianity has itself entered upon the era of foreign

missions. The Church of Christ of Japan (Presbyterian) has sent a mission to China and made a beginning of work for China's millions. The Kumi-ai body has sent (June 20, 1911) a mission to the Korean people. As Korea has been annexed to Japan this may not be technically speaking a foreign mission. But since the Koreans are a people of alien birth, alien customs and alien language it is to all intents a foreign mission. So that the Japanese church with its coming to maturity has become self-propagating at home and propagating abroad.

It may be well to remark here by way of parenthesis the value of this development for the sake of the evangelization of the whole Far East, for despite the differences between Japanese and Koreans or between Japanese and Chinese they are all Orientals with essentially the same intellectual, ethical and religious background for their several civilizations. All write with the same ideographs, all own Confucius as moral teacher and all have been influenced by the religion of Shaka Muni. Thus it comes that the Oriental can understand the Oriental as we Occidentals can never hope to do. So also the Oriental can evangelize the Oriental as we Occidentals can never hope to do. All hail the day when the Japanese church shall be able adequately to undertake the evangelization of the neighboring Eastern peoples.

CHURCH UNION

In common with other mission fields Japan is making her contribution to church union. The allegiance of the Japanese Christian to his own denomination is a constant surprise to the missionaries. It is comparatively rare and seems strangely difficult for a faithful Congregational or Presbyterian or Methodist Christian to transfer his membership to another body even if he reside in a place where there is no church of his own order. And yet the accomplishments already made in the line of church union and church federation are considerable. The Church of Christ of Japan (Presbyterian) is itself a union of churches

that grew up as the result of the work of four large missions. The Japan Methodist Church includes churches that were formerly associated with three home churches. The *Seikokwai* (Episcopal) unites in one body the churches that grew out of the labors of the missions of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Church Missionary Society (British) and of the American Episcopal Church.

There have been at times negotiations with a view to the organic union of other bodies as of the Kumi-ai and Presbyterian several years ago and more recently of the Kumi-ai, Protestant Methodist and United Brethren. These efforts did not prove successful. But they were by no means in vain for they brought about a better knowledge of one another and a fuller appreciation of the strong points of the organization of each other. There is moreover in the air to-day a definite feeling after something like a federation at least of all the Christian bodies in the country. The great Protestant Foreign Missions have had such a federation for some ten years already by which they consult together and work together. The federation has published nine issues of an annual entitled *The Christian Movement in Japan*, which itself holds a valuable place in the Christian propaganda.

In such a country as Japan missionaries coming face to face as they do with a non-Christian society which yet has a teaching of its own soon learn to put little or no stress on things of lesser importance and to unite in presenting to the people the great and living truths of the Gospel, to disregard the points that separate denominations and to emphasize the truths which all hold in common. The native churches also having no interest in the divisions of the church in the West and not even understanding the reasons for those divisions find themselves nearer together than the emissaries who bring the Gospel to them. Thus the missionaries and the native churches alike are pre-disposed to church union. The first churches organized were all undenominational. The contribution of Japan then to the movement for church union comes naturally from both the foreign and the native workers.

INTERPRETATION OF CHRISTIANITY

The story is told of a Japanese student in a class in exegesis in an American institution, bringing in an interpretation of a particular passage of Scripture that surprised his instructor. The instructor asked the young man from what commentary he got the interpretation. The fact is the young man had seen no commentary. The explanation was the one that appeared most natural to his own Oriental mind. It was intuitive. The incident is such as might well occur in any Occidental class room where there is an Oriental student.

As a matter of fact every great civilization that has received Christianity has made its contribution toward the interpretation of Christian truth. Greek philosophy led to certain valuable theological statements. Roman Imperial examples led to the development of a world-wide church organization. Teutonic experience applied the Christian teaching of faith to the everyday life of the individual. And if according to the expectation of John Robinson "the Lord has more truth and light yet to break forth out of His holy Word," simple analogy would lead us to expect that the Far East would have something to add toward the fuller appreciation of the Divine Revelation. Now add to the simple analogy the fact that whereas the Greek, the Roman and the Teuton were all Western and yet have helped us to know our Eastern book, the Japanese has the advantage of his Oriental inheritance of thought and feeling and life and therefore brings to the interpretation of our Oriental religion a peculiar fitness that ought to enable him to see in it ever increasing newness of light and to receive from it ever increasing abundance of life. We of the West may well expect our brethren of the East to become our teachers in not a few Christian things. This they are indeed already doing. And this they themselves aspire more and more to accomplish.

MEDICINE IN JAPAN: ITS DEVELOPMENT AND PRESENT STATUS

By John C. Berry, M.D., formerly Medical Director of Dōshisha University Hospital, Kyōtō

The earliest historical period of Japanese medicine is shrouded in mystery and may properly be termed the mythical period. As in Egypt, Greece and other ancient countries, it was the age of the "demi-gods." It extends from the dawn of Japanese history, supposed to be 700 B.C. to about 100 B.C., a period of six hundred years. Early traditions attribute the source of the first knowledge of the cure of disease to the teachings of two deities, known in Japanese history as, O-Na-Muchi-No-Mikoto and Sukuna-Hiko-Na-No-Mikoto. It is hinted by modern scholars that these earliest ideas of the treatment of disease originated in China and Korea. Still the medical knowledge of the period has always been popularly regarded as emanating wholly from the Japanese themselves.

Tradition informs us that experiments were early made upon monkeys to determine the action of certain vegetable substances possessing supposed remedial virtues, of which thirty-seven were thus tested and employed in sickness. These consisted chiefly of roots and the barks of trees and represented the sum total of the Japanese *materia-medica* of that period. Attempts at the study of anatomy were made, monkeys being dissected in the hope of thus learning the arrangement of the organs of the human system. The knowledge of anatomy thus gained was but little advanced, save in very limited circles, for a period of about two thousand years. Observations were also made as to the age to which people lived and the tradition is preserved, "that few lived beyond one hundred years."

This was looked upon as the age of pure Japanese medi-

cine and its principles were jealously defended when, in later years, the Chinese system was introduced. In this earlier age no attempt seems to have been made to investigate the *causes* of disease, the whole range of treatment being entirely symptomatic. Yet the profession of medicine was held in high esteem, the medical men of the country being mostly related to the imperial house and to noble families. In the reign of the twelfth emperor of this "divine age" the custom was changed and "elderly men of experience" were allowed to assume the responsibility of treating disease; while those unable to pursue other vocations might be employed in digging medicinal roots and in gathering herbs. It is further said that when monkeys were kept for the scientific purposes referred to, persons of both sexes, infirm from birth and who could not do regular manual labor, were given the task of caring for them.

It is interesting to note that the Japanese, in that early age, anticipated the modern scientific use of the monkey for the testing of drugs. It has long been recognized by modern men of science that there is no animal that so nearly resembles man, in the effects produced by drugs, as the monkey.

It is of equal interest to note that the four elements, wind, fire, water and earth, were employed to explain the various

bilious and melancholic—a classification used by westerners, to some extent, even today.

The Japanese regarded the cause of disease as originating either from the spirit of air or of water.

The country is of volcanic origin and volcanic upheavals of varying severity have been of frequent occurrence during its history. These seismic disturbances have produced numerous hot medicinal springs in different parts of the country and these were resorted to for the treatment of diseases in this early age, as at the present time.

Cold water was early employed in the treatment of fevers but the use of this remedy was later abandoned for a period of seven hundred years, namely from the twelfth to the nineteenth century A. D. Mingled with these more rational methods tradition assures us that successful treatment of disease frequently required the exorcism of evil spirits. To what extent this superstition and the religious treatment of disease was due to the later introduction of Buddhism is difficult to determine. It should be remembered that these statements are based upon legendary information as preserved in records dating 712 A. D., at which time authentic Japanese history began.

Among the occult phenomena popularly believed to enter into the ætiology of disease, the superstition of fox possession should here be noted. The animal is supposed to assume human form by placing a skull on its own head, facing the north star and then, by prayers, genuflections and rapid circulatory motions, rapidly take on the human form. As a girl, he is made responsible for many startling tales and experiences.

I well recall the haggard appearance of a young man as he came to the hospital clinic one morning and sitting before me gravely asked to be relieved of his disease of "fox possession." His story was, that on the previous evening, as he had attempted to go home from a neighbor's house, his path leading along a ravine between the mountains, the light of his lantern, in some mysterious manner, suddenly went out. Wandering for a while, he discovered a light in the distance, which he took for that of his own home. As

he walked, however, this light receded and finally disappeared. In weariness he sank to the ground. There now appeared to him a beautiful woman, who directed him on his way. She too finally vanished but to his joy the road led to his home.

To dispossess the person of this hallucination is usually the proud work of the priest. He gravely says to the patient, "I will perform for you religious ceremonies and prayers and if you will go to such a temple, offer there your prayers and your offerings, you will immediately be relieved." The result usually verifies the promise—a pure case of mind cure.

The name of this animal seems to have been taken from a legend occurring 545 A. D. Ono, a native of Mino, greatly longed for his ideal of feminine beauty, who finally appeared and became his wife. With the birth of their son was also born a dog in the immediate neighborhood, which, when grown, became intensely hostile to Ono's wife. One day the dog attacked her with unusual fury, when she, in uncontrollable fear, assumed her former shape, leaped over the fence and disappeared *in the form of a fox*. "You may be a fox," cried Ono, as he saw his wife disappear, "but you are the mother of my son and I love you; *Ki-tsū-ne-Kitsune*." And so every night, as the shadows gathered and the dogs were in kennel, she came back and nestled in his arms; hence the name *Ki-tsū-ne*, "Come and sleep."

The second period in the history of Japanese medicine extends from 100 B. C. to 700 A. D. and embraces the period known as the extended introduction of Chinese medicine. This includes Korean medicine many of whose physicians and learned men came to Japan as teachers and as practitioners during this time. Kempfer repeats a legend of the coming of the first foreign physician: In the reign of the Emperor Kogen, 214 to 158 B. C., a physician from China with three hundred young men and an equal number of young women, came to Japan, "his real purpose being to escape the tyranny of his own government." In order to be permitted to leave China, he represented to his emperor that there existed in Japan the medicine of immortality,

was procured, that it would only yield its virtues when handled by virtuous hands. If, therefore, success was to crown his efforts, he must have the assistance of the company proposed. His request was granted. The place of his landing in the province of Kii is still shown, as also the remains of a temple once erected in his honor, "for having introduced good manners and useful knowledge."

Following the military invasion of Korea by the Empress Jingo Kogo, 201 A. D., increased medical knowledge was brought into the country and this was further increased in later years by the coming of botanists to study the medicinal flora of the country. Later it became the rule to collect these herbs on the fifth day of the fifth month, a custom observed at that time even by members of the Imperial house. The knowledge of human anatomy was shown by the belief that there was a hole in the liver which communicated direct with the heart.

In the sixth century Buddhism was brought to Japan. Shortly after this an epidemic of some skin disease prevailed. Some claimed that this punishment was in consequence of the introduction of the new religious faith, while Buddhist believers claimed it was a punishment from Heaven because of the burning of a Buddhist idol by command of the Emperor. One of the court officials falling sick of the disease was permitted to pray to Buddha for relief, the first act of its kind recorded in the history of Buddhism in Japan. The officer recovered and this led to the use of charms against disease and to the offering of prayers to Buddha for relief from sickness. From that time to the present, Buddhist priests have sought to perform the double duty of priest and physician. Buddhist teaching, too, increasingly emphasized the older theory that all human suffering arose from the discord of the spirits of the four elements, and the treatment of disease, became increasingly a religious rite, and the priest a religious healer.

In 669 A. D. a school of learning was established by the Emperor Tenshi and thirty years later a medical department was added. In this school was taught the Chinese system of internal medicine, *materia-medica*, cultivation and curing

of medicinal plants, acupuncture, massage, diseases of the skin, and bone complaints. The students were chiefly the sons of officials and the entire course of study covered twelve years. An interesting custom prevailed of requiring physicians having official appointments to send to their alma mater their first year's income as an "expression of their gratitude" for their education. This was doubtless a return in part of the allowance made by the government to medical students, that all their time might be devoted to study. Later this "return gift" was fixed at one-tenth of the income from the first year of practice. In 735 A. D. a severe epidemic of smallpox appeared, which led the more observing to carefully study the disease. Though this was known in China as early as the beginning of the Christian era, a full description of the malady was not recorded in Japan until 1323, nearly four centuries after the first accurate description was given of the malady by Rhazas, the Arabian physician.

In 806 A. D. a severe plague visited the country and the friends of "Japanese medical art as taught in ancient times by men and gods" joined in the agitation lest this fact should be forgotten. They finally persuaded the reigning emperor to believe that the plague was a punishment from High Heaven for so completely ignoring the legacy received from earlier patriots, and adopting, instead, the foreign (Chinese) method of treating disease. A medical work was accordingly prepared embracing one hundred volumes, which elaborately set forth the principles and the practise of the more ancient and honored system. This led to a government edict and so severe were the requirements imposed upon physicians, and against Buddhism, that any medical officer of the court who should even meet a Buddhist priest or nun on the street was incapacitated for duty for that day; and should he make a mistake in his prescription or in the writing of his directions, the physician was to be punished by a three years imprisonment and a fine of eighty pounds of copper coin; while should any impurity be found in the medicine given, sixty lashes were to be administered.

and a fine of eight pounds of copper coin imposed by the emperor.

This enforced reform, however, was of but short duration and the Imperial successor, Saga, restored the Chinese system with its Buddhistic philosophy, which continued, with varying successes, to the latter part of the nineteenth century.

One remedy given to the west, the moxa, requires notice. Its employment as a means of counter irritation received early emphasis by the Japanese and its use remains at present a popular remedy. The traveler in Japan today will probably be drawn by a jinriksha coolie, who will have several black spots on each side of his spine or along the shin bones, the marks of the application of this remedy. It is made from the flower of artemisia vulgaris, popularly known as burning grass or, in Japanese, *mo-gusa*. A work of several volumes was early written, giving the diseases for which treatment by moxa was indicated and the rules for its application, and Kempfer gives an elaborate summary of this treatise under twenty-six different headings. The Dutch, witnessing its value as a counter irritant, adopted it, but instead of using the combustible grass, sought the same end by the use of the hot iron, retaining, however, the Japanese name, *mo-gusa*, the "moxa" of the present day.

As an example of the philosophy underlying the practise of medicine at this time, the conversation between a pupil and teacher may here be quoted: "Why does cold, when taken into the system result in fever?" asked the pupil Kotei of his teacher Ki-Haku, and the latter replied, "Heat is produced at the point of extreme cold. If, therefore, one contracts cold in winter, he suffers from fever in the spring time."

The third period of Japanese medicine extends from about 600 to 1500 A. D. This period simply marks an extension of Japan's intercourse with China and India and the gradual but sure increase of the Chinese system of medicine, during which time it became more highly developed than in the country of its birth. From the middle of the twelfth century,

however, political interests and military exploits claimed increasing attention, leading men to abandon literary and professional pursuits and to seek honor in war. The government now withdrew in part its patronage from learning and priests again came to the front as medical practitioners, some of them ultimately becoming men of learning. The old "natural method," the pure Japanese system, now found many staunch advocates and in time greatly modified and improved the Chinese system. Among these advocates was one Nagata Tokuhon, 1512-1630 A. D., who lived to the age of one hundred and eighteen years. In his practice he sought to work with nature. It is related that a certain nobleman, sick of a fever, called Tokuhon for his medical opinion. "What do you like and dislike most?" was the first question asked by the physician, and to this the sick man replied, "I should like to eat some water-melon, to have all of the clothing removed, to have the screens taken from around me and thus allow a freer circulation of air." This was accordingly permitted and, further, he was allowed to drink cold water as desired, a procedure prohibited at this period by the physicians of the Chinese school. Tokuhon's theory was that nature afforded indications as to what the system most needed. If called to treat a person suffering from any nervous disease, Tokuhon would give little attention to medicinal treatment; but would, rather, search for the causes of the disorder, and often effected a cure by working upon the mind of the patient. For instance, were the patient a farmer and anxious that it should rain, he would speak to him of the probabilities of an approaching storm; were she a woman, anxious because of the long absence of her husband, he would assure her of his speedy return; or if a young girl, converse with her about marriage; and so, sometimes by exciting anger, sometimes sorrow, again by inflicting physical pain, or, indeed, through fear, he would arouse his patients to health, "or to that condition in which he could be best reached by simple medicines." Tokuhon had a large following. In 1543 A. D., forty years after the discovery of the passage around the Cape of Good Hope, a Portuguese merchant vessel came to the

shores of Japan. This was an event of the greatest moment to Japanese medicine and was the beginning of a long, intimate and helpful relation of the Dutch with the Japanese. Up to that time Japan had held relations with Asia only—Korea, China and India. In 1549 Francis Zavier, a Jesuit missionary, began his work and a few years later a hospital was established in connection with this Jesuit mission, and placed in charge of Dr. Lewis De Alemeida. The Nobunaga government treated these Europeans kindly and in 1568 A. D. gave a piece of ground ten acres square in Kyoto, where a church was built and land given sufficient to yield two thousand bushels of rice annually toward the maintenance of the mission. Two medical priests were connected with this church and conducted a dispensary for the poor. To favor the medical side of the work, a still larger piece of land, was placed at their disposal for the cultivation of medicinal and other plants, of which it is said some three thousand different kinds were planted. Climatic conditions favoring their growth, a rich addition was thus made to the medicinal herbs and to the flora of the empire.

A few native students of medicine now attached themselves to these foreign instructors, and surgery, heretofore unknown, began to be practised. The circulation of the blood became better understood. "The Dutch physicians possessed knowledge," declared the historian of the day, "but they were exceedingly rough in applying it; while the Chinese system of medicine is restrained by the conservative teachings of the past." The old Japanese school again forged to the front and included many learned and influential leaders. Literary attainment was now regarded as necessary in the physician, and many scholars minimized the importance of distinctively medical knowledge and claimed that any philosopher in close touch with nature could grasp her secrets and correct the penalties of her broken laws. Numerous books on the treatment of disease were written by laymen, to the utter confusion of the medical knowledge of that day.

In 1750 A. D. the theory of "negative and positive essences and of the five elements" was held and practiced by many

Japanese. The new theory was that disease is a poison and is due to a poison. Poison should be attacked by poison and when we have destroyed the cause of disease, the disease itself disappears. By this process, however, there is loss of *Gen-ki*, or vital spirit, which must be restored and nature aided to resume her sway. Disease was now claimed to come within human control and death from sickness was declared to be due to ignorance rather than to the decree of Heaven. The teachings of Mencius, the student of Confucius, doubtless influenced this theory, he claiming that we can hold Heaven responsible for death of friends only after the utmost means have been employed for their recovery.

The political intrigues of the Jesuits and of the Portuguese now aroused the hatred and indignation of Hideyoshi, the Shogun who had succeeded the Nobunaga reign, and by the harshest possible means he expelled them from the country. Some knowledge of the medical art of these men was preserved by their native students, but the event lessened foreign intercourse and retarded the development of education and of medicine. With the cutting off of intercourse with the Portuguese and the Spanish, the old friends of Japan, the Dutch, now enlarged their relations and these were soon supplemented by the English—in sharp rivalry, with the Dutch for the commerce of the country. This rivalry continued until 1621, when the English withdrew and the Dutch continued their trade at Nagasaki. Here they were always careful to have, among other officers of this branch of the Dutch East India Company, a physician. Among these physicians many were noted for their ability, as Doctors Armans, Schambergen, Hoffmann, and Kempfer.

Christianity was still under the ban of the government and the importation of all religious books was strictly prohibited. This prohibition, however, did not include the study of medicine, and the Japanese interpreters of Dutch were allowed the freest intercourse with the Dutch physicians in order that they might learn their art. This now

As previously noted, the pathology of European medicine at that time differed so little from that of the Chinese (the former being founded upon the doctrine of Hippocrates and Galen that all bodily ills arose from a disturbance of the four humors, blood, phlegm, yellow bile and black bile, while the Chinese ascribed all physical troubles to disturbances of gas, air, blood, and phlegm), that the Chinese school had reasonable ground for contention that the basic principles of their own art were quite as good as those of the West.

Smallpox was an early bane and, in the gregarious habits of the people, wrought terrible havoc among them. Vaccination finally afforded relief and is today compulsory and universal. Doubt existing as to the origin of vaccination in Japan your speaker, in 1884, with the assistance of native members of his hospital staff, made careful inquiry into the early records of its introduction, and learned that this was done by the Dutch physician, Mohniki. The child of his interpreter, Yegawa of Nagasaki, was the first to be vaccinated. A portion of the resulting scab was sent north to a Kyoto physician, Hino-Tozai by name, who vaccinated his grandchild. From this child virus was sent to a physician in the province of Yechizo, from which time the practice rapidly spread and that too, in spite of the strong opposition of the Chinese school and the still potent influence of a year-old proscriptive edict of the Shogun. The beneficent result of vaccination against smallpox was now increasingly recognized and constituted another influence making for the popularity of the western system. Later, in 1858, a vaccination institute was established in Tokyo, which, under the efficient superintendence of the board of health, became one of the best in the world and has, for now more than twenty-five years supplied with virus the surgeons of the Asiatic squadron of the American navy.

Up to the latter part of the eighteenth century the knowledge of western medicine had been gained chiefly from the teaching of western physicians in Japan. At this time, 1771, A. D. Gempaku Sugita (1733-1817) a "descendent of a house of hereditary physicians loyal to the Dutch school," became the possessor of two Dutch anatomical

books. The illustrations in this work differed so widely from the heretofore accepted knowledge of human anatomy as taught by the Chinese school, that Sugita and his friends were anxious for an opportunity to compare the two with human organs. The government was therefore petitioned for its assistance and, in response, permission was granted for the dissection of an executed criminal. As the drawings of the two schools were compared with the organs of the human body, it was at once seen that the resemblance to the Dutch plates was exact, while the teachings of the Chinese school were false. A new era of possibilities for medical science now opened, for the realization of which a knowledge of the Dutch language constituted the key. Accordingly Ryoaku Maeno, Gempaku Sugita, and Junon Nakagawa met at Yedo on the fourth day of March, 1771, to begin the study of the Dutch language. In three years these men acquired proficiency as translators, "wrote and re-wrote the *Tafel Anatomia* eleven times" and finally, at the end of four years, gave to the country the result of their labors in the *New Treatise on Anatomy*. These men now became the center for the study of the Dutch language and of the history and life of western countries and a few years later, 1808, "when an English ship entered the harbor of Nagasaki contrary to the orders of the Tokugawa government," fuller knowledge of the nations of the west became imperative,—a knowledge which these same scholars and their pupils could now give. Two books, Hokuhen Tanji, *Things Northern*, and Bashin Hiko, *Private Opinions*, soon appeared and in 1811 a translation bureau was established by order of the government and Gentaku Otsuku, a student of Dr. Sugita, placed in charge—the first scholar of western learning appointed to an official position in Japan. The English language now became an object of study, which soon led to the translation of numerous works on general subjects. By the middle of the nineteenth century, a large number of Japanese physicians knew fairly well the literature of European medicine as then developed, and in all branches, save surgery, were fairly reliable practitioners. In spite of this, however, members of the Chinese school had such

influence at court that they secured favorable response to their petition to the government that the practice of western medicine for internal diseases should be prohibited in Japan, on the ground that Europeans and Asiatics were dissimilar in their natures, and the medicine applicable to the one was not suitable for the other. As late as 1849, an order was issued making it necessary to secure government permission for authority to translate books on western medicine; and as the "censorship was in the hands of the government and therefore the friends of the order," a stop was practically put to the further publication of European books on medicine. This edict however, did not include the practice of surgery, which, based upon what had proved to be accurate anatomical knowledge, was permitted to be practiced.

In 1852 Commodore Perry's visit to Japan produced such political and social unrest that popular clamor demanded the "strengthening of all national defenses and general preparation for war." Anticipating a sanguinary conflict, it was deemed a necessity that her surgeons be made familiar with the treatment of gun-shot and saber wounds. Such a work was translated and appeared in 1854 and thereafter the opposition to western medicine, both by the government and by the Chinese school, rapidly lost strength and (in 1857) a hospital and medical school for the teaching of European medicine was established by the government at Nagasaki, the Dutch physician, Dr. Pompe van Meerdervoort, in charge. This event began the fourth period of Japan's Medical History. On the fifteenth of May of that year his inaugural address was given to the assembled students and their friends and Dr. van Meerdervoort began his work as the physician and surgeon of the first hospital established by the government. From this school the two most promising students, namely, Ito Gempaku and Hiyashi Genkai, were selected for Post Graduate work in Holland and were sent thither by the Japanese government—the first students to be sent to Europe for a medical education. Medical science, therefore, was the first to profit by Commodore Perry's visit, and since that time the value placed upon European medicine has been a strong link between the Japan-

ese and the west. Medicine, more than any other science given to Japan as the result of her intercourse with the Occident, has bestowed upon her the greatest benefits, and her people today regard with gratitude and with confidence the work of her medical men as the most signal agency in the country for conserving health, increasing longevity and contributing to the nation's power.

Following this, Japan's relations with America and England became increasingly intimate and English and American medicine exerted a strong influence upon her. The fighting which resulted from the war of the restoration immediately emphasized the need for surgeons, and Dr. William Willis, an English naval surgeon, was engaged to accompany the government forces. Willis was, fortunately, a man of thorough training and of noble character and did much to aid the Japanese.

At the close of the first battle he was informed of the wish of the officers of the army to have the wounded of the government forces treated first, and the wounded of the enemy attended to later. Willis immediately protested against this course of procedure and emphatically declared that he would not allow his instruments to be unpacked unless all the wounded could be treated alike. He carried his point. This spirit of the government only reflected the spirit that had long prevailed in Asia, and is still too frequently seen in China, as regards the treatment of the wounded of the enemy. It was, however, in striking contrast to the order issued by the Empress Jingo Kōgo, when her troops were despatched for the invasion of Korea in the third century, which was, "Spare all who surrender, but destroy all who refuse to yield."

At the close of the war Willis was placed in charge of a large hospital in Tokyo, to which a medical school was attached, and in which he was appointed professor of surgery. He was the first to teach the Japanese aseptic surgery. The methods of English and American surgery thus

ican medical teachers, making the English language the medium for instruction, but the presence of a Dutch physician at Nagasaki, who praised the rapid progress of German medicine in the late sixties, greatly influenced the choice of the government for German teachers; while the Rev. Dr. Verbeck, a Dutch-American scholar, a teacher of many of the younger officials and Advisor to the Japanese government, also recommended this latter course. The government, therefore, made known its wish to the German government that medical teachers be furnished. This was at the time, however, of the Franco-German war, when the necessary surgeons could not be spared from the country. At its close, the military surgeons, Müller and Hoffman, were sent to Japan, the first of a series of German teachers who for nearly forty years, continued to occupy professorial chairs at the University.

During the late sixties and seventies a considerable number of American and English missionary societies took up work in Japan. As it was the policy of the larger societies to locate a physician at every central station, it came to pass that a considerable number—eleven—were located in strategic centers of population, and each with a hospital and a surrounding group of dispensaries, became a local center of large medical interests. To these hospitals and dispensaries the native physicians, still practicing the Chinese system and now eager to learn all that was possible of western medicine, would bring groups of patients for treatment, and, on receiving clinical instruction concerning the diseases thus presented and their treatment, would depart to put into practice the knowledge gained.

Dr. James C. Hepburn was the nestor of this number and led us all in consecrated and efficient service. He came to Kanagawa in 1859 but, unable to practice his profession there because of the opposition of the Japanese government, he moved across the bay to Yokohama—a concession for foreign residence. Here he opened a dispensary and being near the capital, his work, especially in surgery, made a profound impression upon the nation. In this he was aided at times by the English naval surgeons.

Students gathered around him both for didactic and clinical instruction and thus his medical work became of the utmost value in allaying prejudice, and winning the confidence of the Nation. In 1873 at the age of sixty years he gave up his medical practice and devoted himself wholly to religious and literary work. He was the first to compile a Japanese-English dictionary.¹ From 1870 to 1880 medical institutions and medical and surgical knowledge rapidly increased. This was greatly favored by a government edict in 1875 to the effect that thereafter medical licenses would be granted only to those who could pass an examination in western medical science. The representatives of the Chinese school were allowed to continue their practice but they made no further effort to re-establish their prestige. They remain, in the writer's memory, as men of rare dignity, representing the best scholarship of their day, and as men, too, who received and who deserved, the respect and the confidence of their fellows. It cannot be doubted that the work of these men, in developing the system of Chinese medicine to a point far beyond what it ever became in the land of its birth, prepared the way for the rapid growth of medical knowledge in the generation following them. They labored as they believed and prepared those who were to follow for a still larger service. All honor to their memory.

In 1872 the writer, as a member of the American Board's Japan mission, took up residence in Kobe and was appointed as medical director of the International Hospital there, and the following year to the Prefectural Hospital in Hiogo. Called to assist in controlling a severe epidemic of beriberi in the prison, he recognized a disease of which little was known and therefore requested permission to perform a post-mortem examination, subsequently using the unclaimed bodies of criminals for dissection. This request was granted

¹ Other Medical Missionaries were: Dr. D. B. Simmons, Reformed Church Dr. Henry Lanning, Episcopal, Osaka; Dr. R. B. Tensler, Episcopal, Tokyo; Dr. Wallace Taylor, American Board, Osaka; Dr. Arthur Adams, American Board, Osaka; Dr. H. Faulds, United Presbytery, Tokyo; Dr. Palm, Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society, Nigata; Dr. W. Norton Whitney, Friends, Tokyo; Dr. McDonald, Canadian Methodist, Shidzuka and Tokyo.

by the central government—the first dissection of a human body made in that prefecture.

In addition to the medical department of the Imperial University at Tōkyō, numerous medical centers were rapidly established, while many prefectoral governments soon had their own hospital and medical class—in most cases presided over by English, American or German physicians; while as soon as medical graduates were given to the country, these were employed in the larger hospitals first as assistants and then as medical chiefs. Thus in time the services of the foreign physicians became unnecessary.

At present there are three higher medical schools in the country, namely, at Tōkyō in the north, at Kyōtō in the center, and at Fukuōka toward the south. The course of study is four years. The teachers are wholly Japanese, the services of all the foreign teachers having been terminated by resignation or death. The title given to the graduates is *I-gaku-shi*, or Master of Medicine. In addition to the above, there are now eight other medical schools, three supported by the prefectoral governments in which they are located and five by the general government. The course of these latter schools is also four years, but the entrance requirements are lower than of the higher schools. Many of the graduates take post graduate work abroad, usually in Germany, while a number have studied in England and in America, some at the expense of the government.

As is well known, the progress of medicine in Japan during the last thirty years has been unique. Physicians take early to specialties and form numerous fraternities for the promotion of the science. Of these there are thirty-nine prominent and prosperous associations, with many other minor organizations, and these deal with all the branches of medicine. They usually hold regular monthly meetings and many of these associations publish their own journals, in which are recorded the results of their investigations. Many of these associations have special laboratories and hospitals, and means for making the newest and most exhaustive researches. Some of these reports are printed

in English, some in German, but most in Japanese. Dr. Kitasato, distinguished abroad for having first discovered the diphtheria bacillus, and regarded in Vienna as having brought distinguished honor to the laboratory where the discovery was made, has one of the more celebrated laboratories, the Bacteriological Institute at Tokyo. Here physicians, both Japanese and foreign, may be taught the latest principles of bacteriology.

There are about fifty medical magazines now published in the country, many of which contain extracts from the latest English, American and German medical literature.

I should add that all the common schools of the country now have physicians appointed to their care whose duty it is to look after the general health and sanitary condition of the pupils and to make thorough physical examinations at fixed intervals. At the last census there were 9664 physicians thus employed.

The laws relating to the practice of medicine and surgery require that every practicing physician or surgeon shall hold a license from the Government. These licenses, except in the case of persons who were in practice before the year 1875, and in certain other cases, can only be obtained upon passing a satisfactory examination in natural philosophy, chemistry, anatomy, physiology, *materia medica*, general medicine, surgery, ophthalmology, obstetrics and clinical diagnosis. The first four of these branches constitute the first, and the following six branches the second, or *pass* examination. These examinations, which are held semi-annually, in different districts of the several prefectures of the empire, are conducted by a special officer detailed for the purpose. This officer is assisted by a certain number of prominent physicians, chemists, and professors, who are residents of the locality in which the examination is held. The time and place of these examinations are fixed by the home department and applications of candidates are required to be sent in at least one month before the examination takes place. The certificates of candidates must be signed by at least two practising physicians or teachers of medicine, and no candidate

is eligible for the *first* examination until he has pursued his medical studies for eighteen months, and for the *second*, or *pass* examination, for three years. In case of rejection, the candidate may try again after six months.

The home department is empowered to grant licenses to practice, without examination, to those possessing the diplomas of the government medical schools or of recognized foreign medical schools; also, in special cases, for districts where there may be too few educated physicians, and where, in his opinion, necessity demands the presence of others. An official list of physicians licensed to practice is issued by the home department, while the licenses of those who have given up practice must be returned to the government. The licenses of physicians guilty of grave misdemeanor or of crimes, may be revoked either for a time or permanently, as the home minister on consultation with the central sanitary board may decide.

The last report of the sanitary bureau shows that there were 35,160 physicians in the country, of whom about 15,000 still practice, to some extent, the Chinese system, while about 7000 have graduated from the modern medical colleges. Of these latter, 1791 from the Imperial University at Tokyo, 354 from that at Kyoto and 236 from the Imperial University at Fukuoka. These, 2381, hold the higher title of *I-Gaku-shi*, or Master of Medicine. There are 2898 pharmacists, 26,837 apothecaries, 25,959 midwives and 4034 veterinary surgeons. The latter come under the control of the Agricultural Department.

THE SANITARY BOARD

The importance of hygiene was much appreciated and greatly emphasized in the early seventies, and a thoroughly competent physician, Dr. Sensai Nagayo, sent to America to study our system of medical education and public health. Later he crossed to England, and to Holland for further study and then, returning to Japan, applied himself with great devotion to carry out among his people the knowledge he had acquired abroad. It was he who introduced the

licentiate examination for physicians and the most notable book contributing to their aid at that time was Hartshorn's *Compendium*, which, when translated, was enthusiastically welcomed both by student and government. In 1876 this same Dr. Nagayo was sent to represent Japan at the International Medical Congress held at our Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia. This was the first time that Japan ever sent a representative to a meeting of an international character. The helpful items of information which Dr. Nagayo there found were: the methods of taking statistics of births and deaths; for preventing infectious diseases; problem of water supply; disposal of sewage; treatment of refuse; sanitation in railway carriages; regulations for food and drink, etc. Shortly after his return a severe epidemic of cholera invaded Japan, affording an opportunity for the use of the knowledge he had acquired abroad. But for the urgent demand arising from this fatal epidemic, for these preventive measures he would have experienced difficulty in overcoming conservative prejudice. Dr. Nagayo long remained at the head of the sanitary bureau and within twenty years Japan had made more signal progress in the practical application of sanitary science than any other nation in the same time. This she always acknowledged and still acknowledges as mainly due to the good influence of America and Americans. The value of the science of hygiene as enforced in Japan is especially emphasized by the fact that on the west she is related to countries where sanitary science has been but poorly understood and from which pestilence is so apt to invade Japan. This has emphasized her appreciation of the value of sanitary science; and her recent experience in the Japan-Russian war, in which the medical board had no difficulty in enforcing its requirements among the soldiers, shows how intelligently it is understood and valued by both government and people.

Numerous hygienic societies exist and the Woman's Hygienic Association now has several thousand members. These hold frequent meetings for discussion and for instruction by lectures. Hospitals are numerous, there being some-

thing over 1000 in the empire. Many of these are private; some are charity hospitals; and a few are for lepers.

NURSES

When your speaker, in 1883, proposed the establishment of a nurses' school and the training of Japanese women for the work of nursing, he was met by opposition, both from Japanese and from resident Europeans, on the ground that the status of the Japanese woman was such as to render such a step premature and hazardous.

The first nurses' school, thus proposed, was later established in Kyōtō in connection with the medical work of the American Board and the Dōshisha, and Miss Linda Richards, the first nurse graduated in New England, resigned her position as superintendent of nurses in the Boston City Hospital, to become the superintendent of the Kyōtō school. The first five thousand dollars for this work was given by the Woman's Board of Missions of Boston, in which the Branches of Worcester County took an active part. This Kyōtō school became a model for other schools, was visited by officials and others, and its rules and methods carefully studied. Today, nurses' schools exist in nearly every prefecture of the empire, in connection with private or prefectural hospitals.

The long position of subordination occupied by the Japanese woman, and the training of absolute obedience which she has had, especially fits her for the service of nursing; and though gentle and obedient, yet when brought face to face with any great emergency she manifests remarkable courage and fortitude.

In the early history of the Kyōtō school a striking illustration of this was seen in a medical service arising from earthquake, when, within ten minutes, ten thousand people were killed and fifty thousand injured. To the center of this disturbance I hurried with a corps of native assistants and nurses, where we found a surgical service almost unprecedented in its arduous responsibility. On the third day of that service, when amputating a leg at the knee joint and

about to pick up the arteries for ligation, the distant roar of an approaching earthquake shock was again heard. The large number of patients in the waiting room were hurriedly carried to the yard by their friends, but every nurse and medical assistant braced themselves for the shock, stood bravely by the patient, and steadily performed their respective duties. So too, in the great epidemics of cholera that have swept over the land, and again in the late Russo-Japanese war, these nurses have unflinchingly done their duty, with absolutely no fear of death.

In 1886, Japan was admitted to the Geneva Convention of the Red Cross Society. Today, this society has thirty-one branch offices in Japan, with a membership of more than thirty-five hundred.

At the suggestion of Count Ito there was later created the Volunteer Ladies Nursing Association which during the Japan-China war, became affiliated with the Red Cross Society. Devoted patriotism soon led ladies of rank to become members,—princesses, wives of nobility, of diplomatic staffs, and others, and today this association has forty-one branches and nearly ten thousand members. Ladies of high social standing studied nursing, and their influence has done much to elevate this work throughout the country. Its activity was greatly accentuated during the late national struggle with Russia, their work being to "make bandages and dressings, care for patients, furnish a portion of the personnel of the relief stations, visit hospitals, distribute magazines, and aid patients in their correspondence with friends." The members of this association fused so perfectly with those of the Red Cross Society, and this in turn with the personnel of the army medical department, that all worked together in perfect harmony.

It is important to bear in mind the work of these auxiliary organizations, so contributory to medical efficiency, when considering the latter work.

This hasty sketch of the long history of a great subject

ence of the Japanese soldier to the orders of the medical board, the peculiar military discipline of the Japanese army must be noted. The relation of the officer to the soldier is that of parent and child: the officer representing the emperor who in turn is the head of the national family. When therefore, the soldier is made acquainted with the wishes of his officer, he is expected to make every effort to carry them into effect.

The hard lessons learned in the earlier Japan-China war, when the rate of mortality from preventable disease was painfully high, emphasized the necessity of organized, scientific sanitation. The whole subject was therefore thoroughly investigated and developed, the best points of military sanitation in the German and French systems appropriated, supplemented by such modifications and additions as would meet Japan's peculiar conditions and needs. In the system as finally developed and in the men who were to carry it into effect, the nation had complete confidence. The soldier when leaving home, was made to fully understand this, and that, should he become disabled from any preventable disease, he would be looked upon by physicians, and by the public, as a credit neither to himself, his family, nor his country. He went to the war to obey orders. He was given his package of aseptic dressing, told to guard it carefully, and instructed how to use it when wounded; he was told to take a bath and put on clean under-clothing before going into battle; to keep a supply of boiled water or tea in his canteen; to drink no water when on the march, except from wells or springs previously labelled as safe by the sanitary officer. And because of his faith and implicit trust in his officers he religiously carried out these instructions. The confidence of the soldier in the commands of the medical officer was enhanced when he saw that the latter was honored by his emperor who bestowed upon him rank and reward for service, and exacted the most perfect harmony of action between the medical and the commanding officers.

Another important fact contributory to medical efficiency was the remarkable liberality of the government in its

allowance for medical supplies, number of medical officers, etc. The grand result was,—an army death-rate lower than that of any nation in any previous war in history,—a death-rate estimated by competent observers on the ground to be less than one-half that of the opposing army. Even with the ratio increased by the large number of deaths arising from beriberi which occurred late in the struggle, the ratio of death from wounds to death from disease was one to one and five-tenths and before that epidemic, 1 to 0.46. In the China-Japan war it was 1 to 12.09.

It should be remembered that this was due not to superior surgical skill, but (1) to the efficiency of the sanitary service and (2) to the intelligent obedience of the soldiers to sanitary requirements. Indeed the surgeons of the Japanese army, though in the main superior to those of the Russian army, were not distinguished for superior surgical skill. But they were humane in their treatment of their men, and to their honor be it said that there was no instance where a surgeon performed an unnecessary operation for the sake of perfecting his surgical technique; and this too, though there were 4517 medical officers in that service.

In closing, I would add but a word as to the present status of Japanese medicine. In the use of the microscope as a diagnostic aid, in pathology, in bacteriology and in ophthalmology, her specialists have attained to great eminence. In the medical treatment of disease and in general surgery, however, extreme conservatism and routine are conspicuous. This has resulted from the fact that for about a quarter of a century, the graduates from the medical department of the Imperial University at Tokyo, who in turn, have become the medical teachers and leading physicians of the nation, were, in internal medicine and in surgery, under the tutorage of but two men. These were eminent in their profession and their pupils were devotedly studious, but the training was from a limited view point and the routine and conservative methods of the present generation can be overcome only by a broader touch with the advanced medical and sur-

CONCLUSIONS

1. Centuries before the Christian era, Japan developed a system of medicine which in its close touch with nature, reflected the taste and instinct of a nature loving people. In the centuries which followed, this pure Japanese system was defended against the encroachments of the Chinese system and finally, by modifying it, did much to develop the latter to a point far beyond that which it ever attained in the country of its birth.
2. Chinese medicine, modified both by the Japanese system and by Buddhistic philosophy, maintained a growing influence for nearly two thousand years, until finally supplanted by the European school of rational medicine.
3. The auxiliaries to successful medical effort, viz., sanitary science and trained nurses, stand today on a high plain of development.
4. In microscopy, pathology, bacteriology and ophthalmology, Japanese specialists have attained to a high degree of eminence. In order that the practice of general medicine and of general surgery may be brought to equal eminence, a broad touch with the medical and surgical work of the world is necessary.

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JAPANESE-AMERICAN RELATIONS AS AFFECTING THE CONTROL OF THE PACIFIC

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For centuries the great question in the diplomatic world has been the balance of power in Europe. The wit of the greatest statesmen has been exerted to devise plans for retaining it; alliances have been formed upon the basis of it; wars have been fought to restore it; considerations of race and religion have been sacrificed upon its altar; colonial questions, and, to a large degree, commercial questions were considered with reference to their bearing upon it. In short, it was the pivot upon which the diplomacy of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries revolved. As a corollary to this, the Atlantic, and the control thereof, has been a factor of prime importance in the political and commercial life of the powers holding the center of the stage during those centuries.

But with the close of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century the horizon of world politics widens. New forces appear and new characters have come upon the stage. The phrase "balance of power in Europe" is no longer an adequate title for the drama of world diplomacy. While the law governing world politics has not changed, and everything still gravitates toward the center, the center has shifted. The Pacific and not the Atlantic is the center of the stage on which the drama of twentieth century politics will be played. However imperfectly Europe may realize this, it is nevertheless the fact.

Though the United States, during its early history, has, by reason of owing its origin to European settlement, had its attention centered on the Atlantic, it early began to

had the war of the Revolution been fought to a successful issue before American merchants fitted out vessels to sail the Pacific in the direct trade with the Far East. As early as 1784, the *Empress of China*, an American vessel, was plying between New York and Canton, China. By 1787, we had an American consul, Samuel Shaw, at Canton. In writing of our trade relations with China, he says, in a letter to Jay, January, 1787: "On the whole, it must be a satisfactory consideration to every American, that his country can carry on its commerce with China under advantages, if not in many respects superior, yet in all cases equal, to those possessed by other people." Within the next two years, the *Eleanor*, the *Fair American*, the *Grace* and the *Columbia* had entered into competition for the "infant and lucrative China trade." The trade between the American coasts and China soon grew in importance and up to 1814 was almost entirely carried by American vessels. It was during this quarter century that the Americans established commercial relations with the Marquesas, Charlotte and Sandwich Islands. They had also become active competitors in the whale fisheries of the Pacific.

By 1812, our interests in the Pacific were of sufficient importance to attract governmental attention, and in that year, President Madison commissioned Edward Fanning as commander of an expedition of discovery and placed at his disposal the ships *Volunteer* and *Hope*. The war prevented the sailing of the expedition. In the same year Captain Porter in command of the *Essex*, the first American warship to sail the Pacific, received orders to cruise in the South Seas, where he captured two and a half million dollars worth of British property and 360 British seamen, took possession of and fortified Madison Island.

During this period of activity of American interests on the Pacific, the United States purchased Louisiana, and the expedition of Lewis and Clarke, backed by the expansionist spirit of the American pioneers, had extended our possessions to the Pacific coast. This acquisition of territory was a guarantee that henceforward the United States would be one of the powers to whom the control of the Pacific would

be a matter of vital concern—a concern which was intensified by the acquisition of California and Alaska. How far this anxiety to secure territory on the shores of the Pacific was due to a conscious appreciation of its importance and how far to a natural instinct to expand, matters not for our present purposes.

The discovery of gold in California served to advertise the importance of our Pacific coast and paved the way for an effort to open trade relations with Japan. To quote the language of President Fillmore in his letter conveyed to the Emperor of Japan by Commodore Perry, "The United States of America reach from ocean to ocean and our territory of Oregon and the state of California lie directly opposite the domain of Your Imperial Majesty. Our steamships can go from California to Japan in 18 days. Our great state of California produces about sixty million dollars in gold every year. Japan is also a rich and fertile country and produces many valuable articles. Your Imperial Majesty's subjects are skilled in many of the arts. I am desirous that our two countries should trade with each other for the benefit of both Japan and the United States."

Upon this basis of mutual benefits the trade and diplomatic relations between the United States and Japan were established and upon this basis of reciprocal benefits they have always rested. It is entirely within the facts to say that from the very beginning our relations have squared with the highest standards of ethics. No one who has studied the text or the workings of the Townsend Harris treaties will say that there is any trace of an attempt to overreach or drive a hard bargain at the expense of a less fortunate neighbor. The commerce which they provided for between the two countries was not disadvantageous to Japan from an economic standpoint, nor were the trade relations thus established ever used by the United States as a means for securing political control of any portion of the Japanese Empire. Instead of attempting to make any part of it a sphere of American interests, we have sought to make the whole empire a sphere of American ideas. That we have

succeeded measurably in this is attested by the fact that everywhere the Japanese are known as the Yankees of the Far East.

But are the friendly relations which have existed thus far between the two great powers on the Pacific merely temporary, or may we reasonably expect them to be permanent? In other words, is there a sufficient basis for an enduring friendship between them? Or, is there such a clash of interests as to overcome the traditional friendship?

True, there is not between the United States and Japan, as between the United States and England, a community of blood, language, and religion. There are not these ties to unite the two nations. Yet these are not the only bonds by which nations may be held together. While they are by no means unimportant, it is entirely within the facts to say that they are becoming less important. It is but little over a century since the political policies of a State were controlled very largely by its religious beliefs. If the monarch were Catholic, he chose his allies from among Catholic countries, and, if Protestant, from among Protestant countries. Today England has among its allies: Catholics, Buddhists and Mohammedans. The fact that the Sultan is the head of the Mohammedan religion has not prevented England from championing his cause against Russia. While the United States has from the standpoint of religion little in common with Russia, China or Japan, it has always pursued a policy of friendship toward them, however hostile certain of its individual citizens may have been toward the religions of those countries. The waning power of the church over the state is shown in the triumph of separation in France and the majority in the House of Commons in favor of disestablishment in England. Except in a few fanatical countries, foreign policies are not now determined by religious beliefs and there is nothing to indicate a likelihood of a change in this respect.

The prejudices due to blood are far less strong than they once were and are constantly weakening. The old feeling which divided all into Greeks and barbarians has not entirely disappeared and probably never will, but like all other prej-

udices and provincialisms it does not flourish in the atmosphere of modern scientific thought. Such prejudices rest mainly upon ignorance. Hence, it is fair to suppose that, in the future as in the past, improvements in the means of transportation and of communicating intelligence will, by enabling the peoples of different parts of the world and of different races to understand each other better, cause a decrease in racial prejudices.

A difference in language is not so great a barrier as it once was. The rapid increase in international trade is forcing each nation to learn more of the language as well as of the customs and industries of the other. The more important writings in each language are either translated into the others or furnish the inspiration for treatises in the others embodying substantially the same ideas. Thus the thoughts which determine national and international action are to a greater and greater extent becoming the common property of all nations, in spite of the differences in language.

While the lack of these bonds has been growing less important, the bond due to a community of interests has been growing stronger. Though commercial advantage is not the sole factor in determining national policies, it is nevertheless an important factor. That friendship between the United States and Japan is a decided commercial advantage to both can readily be concluded from a reference to the facts. One of the great facts of recent decades is the unprecedented growth in international trade. And nowhere has this increase been more marked than in the trade between the United States and Japan. According to the Statistical Abstract, the value of the exports from the United States to Japan in 1865 was \$41,913. From this insignificant sum the trade has grown until but forty years later the exports are valued at \$51,719,183. During the same period the value of imports has increased from \$285,176 to \$51,821,629. After allowing for the effect of war, this growth is certainly marvelous. Between 1895 and 1905 the exports from the United States to Japan increased in value from \$4,634,717 to \$51,719,683 and the imports from \$23,790,202 to \$51,-821,629. Thus during a single decade our exports to Japan

increased over 1000 per cent and our imports over 100 per cent. Our imports now amount to \$70,392,722.

That this growth has not been due to accident, or a series of accidents, will become evident by an inquiry into the causes which underly it. The geographical location of the countries is such as to make trade between them easy. In this respect the United States has a decided advantage over the countries of Europe. The route across the Pacific is shorter, safer and hence cheaper than the Suez or Cape of Good Hope routes. The control of the Pacific route is in the hands of the United States, by reason of its possession of the coaling stations and ports of call. When this trade is developed to the proportions which it must from the nature of the case attain, the significance of our possession of the string of islands between our coast and that of Asia will be appreciated by many who seem as yet to have no conception of it. The course of history has been determined largely by the possession of trade routes.

The difference in the commodities produced in the two countries is such as to make the United States and Japan trade allies, i.e., to make them seek to promote rather than to place obstacles in the way of trade with each other. To appreciate the truth of this we have but to glance at the staple products of the two countries. Japan produces raw silk cheaply and though the United States has attempted it, the attempts have availed us nothing, except to show that either our soil or climate, or both, are not adapted to the industry. We are therefore importing about 90 per cent of the raw silk exported from Japan and making it into fabrics, instead of doing as we once did—purchasing those fabrics from Europe, and paying for them with the products of our farms. We still pay for them with the products of our farms, but it is now simply the raw material that we pay for, and give to our own factories the opportunity of performing the processes which enhance its value, instead of paying for having the same done in European factories.

Tea is another staple of Japanese production which has never been raised profitably in the United States. So far as can be seen, American tea will remain a negligible

quantity in the commerce of the world. It is therefore not at all surprising that the United States should take three-fourths of the tea exported by Japan.

There are certain classes of works of art which the United States imports from Japan. These also are not and for a long time will not be produced in the United States. The artistic temperament and abilities of a people are something which does not change rapidly. The whims of fashion may be ephemeral, but the ability to produce and the desire for artistic creations are far more constant.

As Japan is the available source from which the United States secures and will continue to secure the above classes of goods, there are certain other classes for the supply of which Japan looks and under normal conditions will look to the United States. Perhaps the most important of these is raw cotton. Cut off the supply of this staple and immediately one of the great industries of Japan is at a standstill. And such is the industrial organization of today that one industry cannot suffer without causing a considerable demoralization in all other industries. During the period of hand industries the makers of iron would be affected but slightly by a shut down among the makers of cloth. Each operative depended very largely upon his own capital. But under the factory system of today, let one industry be brought suddenly to a standstill and several of the banks that are furnishing money to manufacturers in that industry and others are forced to contract their loans and the stringency is felt all along the line. This is the mildest form which it can take. Not infrequently the shock causes several banks to break and confidence is so shaken that a financial panic results, and from the depressing, if not demoralizing, effects of financial panics no industry is exempt.

This dependence upon the United States of one of the great industries of Japan is a stronger guarantee of peace between the two nations than most of us appreciate. Japan is far too conservative a nation to lightly enter upon a war

industrial and financial organization. The danger of such losses and privations is too great a risk to run, except in self-defense. The mere prospect of enhanced military glory is not likely to appeal to Japan as being a commodity worth purchasing at such a price.

While the dependence of Japan upon the United States is less marked in other respects, there are nevertheless a number of commodities for which she is to a great degree dependent upon us. Most of the flour used in Japan is imported from the United States. Though there are other countries that produce flour, there are none of them that can compete successfully with the United States in the Japanese market. To be suddenly cut off from the American supply would therefore put the Japanese at a disadvantage with respect to this one of the necessities of life.

What is true of flour is equally true of kerosene. Nearly all of the kerosene used in Japan comes from the United States. As yet the product of the Russian oil fields does not seem to have found its way into the Japanese market. This may be due to the fact that the freight rates over the Trans-Siberian railway are not sufficiently low to enable the Russian shipper to compete with his American rival.

In locomotives, railway rails, and railway equipment in general, the United States is easily first in the list of competitors for Japanese contracts. This is due in part to our greater promptness in filling orders because of our resort to standard types and making hundreds according to the same pattern instead of waiting until an order is received and then drafting the plan according to which the locomotives, etc., in that order will be made, as is the custom in most European shops. Now that Japan has resolved to build the railroads which are indispensable to the development of Corea and southern Manchuria, her dependence upon the United States has in this respect increased very materially. Scarcely less pronounced is her dependence upon us for meat, structural iron, and machinery.

Among the marked tendencies of the last century has been the increasing influence of commercial considerations in determining the foreign policies of nations. Nor is there

any convincing evidence that this tendency has reached its height. When we consider this in connection with the commercial relations of the two countries, we have an excellent basis for the conclusion that, in the future as in the past, the United States and Japan will continue to coöperate with each other instead of foolishly casting aside the mutual advantages to be gained from a policy of friendly coöperation dictated by their geographical location and natural resources.

There is another force which cannot be left out of account, and that is the force of traditions. The United States is the first of the great nations of modern times with which Japan entered into diplomatic relations. From the opening of Japan by Commodore Perry, to the present day, the diplomatic relations of Japan with the United States have been of the most friendly character. Japan has never distrusted the motives of the United States, but on the contrary has always looked to it for friendly advice and guidance. She has paid us the compliment of sending hundreds of her brightest youths to be educated in our institutions, of sending commissions to study our industrial organization, of celebrating the anniversary of the landing of Commodore Perry and erecting a monument to his memory, and of bringing to a close at our suggestion a war in which she was uniformly victorious. Nor has Japan forgotten that in her struggle for fair commercial treatment at the hands of western nations and for ridding herself of the hateful handicap of consular jurisdiction, she received most valuable assistance from the United States. The confidence begotten of these years of close friendship and helpfulness is not to be shaken by the first gust of breezy criticism or by restrictions which are economically advantageous to Japan. Traditions, however friendly, may not be sufficient to outweigh national interests, but when reinforced by them they constitute a force which is difficult to overcome. They at least make it easy to explain away minor differences, and that is all that is necessary in order that the friendly relations

bilities and to exercise a wholesome influence for international peace.

But Japan and the United States are not the only first class powers having territory bordering on the Pacific and to whom the control of this highway of commerce is a matter of importance. In this list we find England, France, Germany and Russia. It is therefore fitting that we inquire to what extent the dominant position now held by the United States and Japan may in the future be challenged by any of those powers. And in this inquiry we will not assume the rôle of prophet and attempt to say what distant ages may bring forth, but will rather confine ourselves to the more practical task of diagnosing the situation with reference to the present and reasonably near future.

A decade ago, the position of Russia as an aspirant for power on the Pacific occasioned no small amount of anxiety. The situation was not only acute but threatening. Yet such is not now the case. The battle of Tsushima has made it clear that for a generation at least Russia will not be a formidable power on the Pacific. By this it is not meant that Russia will be a negligible factor in deciding political and commercial questions pertaining to the Pacific, but merely that she will not within a generation be in a position to dictate the rules of the road or to insist that any considerable portion of the Pacific be recognized as a sphere of Russian interest. To put it in more classic phrase, she will not be in a position to insist that all the Pacific shall be divided into three parts of which Russia shall have one.

The German emperor, whose habit it is in great crises to voice the aspirations and dictate the policy of his empire, has already waived the rights of Germany as a contender for supremacy in the Pacific by appropriating for himself the title of "Admiral of the Atlantic." But apart from this act which furnishes convincing evidence of a spirit of self-abnegation so characteristic of the man, Germany is at present too intimately bound up in the meshes of European politics to make it wise for her to launch any campaign for the annexation of the Pacific.

France is even less prepared than Germany to jeopardize

her European position for a possible increase of her influence in the Orient. For a generation, at least, her energies will be needed in developing and consolidating her North African empire. The successful completion of the task she has undertaken in Africa, which must needs take time, is too vital to her position and prestige in Europe to permit of her seeking other worlds to conquer. There is therefore no reason to apprehend that, within the near future, France will be a disturbing factor or will interfere seriously with the present equilibrium of forces in the Pacific.

England is a far less influential power on the Pacific than she was twenty years ago. At that time her commercial influence and naval power as well as her prestige in diplomacy were everywhere recognized and gave her the position of premier among the powers on the Pacific. But in the late eighties and early nineties she began to ask herself whether or not this influence was worth as much as it was costing and was likely to cost her. In other words she began to doubt whether or not "the game was worth the candle." By the time this period of doubt ended, her primacy was gone. Power rarely survives a period of such masterful inactivity. The situation, viewed in the light of the history of the past twenty years, warrants the conclusion that England has voluntarily withdrawn herself from the list of powers contending for the mastery of the Pacific. Nor is she likely to re-enter the lists, the abandonment of her naval base at Esquimalt indicates that she does not intend to question the supremacy of the United States and Japan.

I have refrained from mentioning China in this list, because although she is a power on the Pacific, she is not a first class power, nor is it certain that she ever will be. China has not yet passed through that stage in political evolution through which every state must pass in order to have its status as a first class power assured. The fundamental difficulty in China is that the people of one part do not appreciate sufficiently the fact that they have anything in common with the people in another part. Without this sense of unity, patriotism is impossible, the power to act in concert is impossible—and without the power to act in

concert, national achievement is handicapped to such an extent that it must suffer by comparison with that of nations not so handicapped. If the present revolution brings China to a consciousness of itself, wakes the Chinese people and gets them to see that they have a community of interests, China will become a great factor in world politics and her location will make her one of the leading powers on the Pacific. But it is not at all probable that China will in the near future be able to challenge the position of primacy now held by Japan and the United States.

But can the United States and Japan continue this joint tenancy? Can each of these treatyless allies brook equality or must there be a clash for the purpose of determining which shall yield supremacy to the other? In our judgment, such a clash is neither wise nor necessary, nor is it desired by either. There is honor enough and room enough for both. There is likewise work enough to enable the energies of both to find expression in constructive rather than in destructive operations. The character of work to be done is by no means such as to render coöperation disadvantageous. Each needs the products of the other's industry and neither can afford to spend its substance in crippling the other. Viewed from a selfish standpoint, each should rejoice at the legitimate success of the other, for in proportion as each becomes prosperous, in that proportion is its friendship valuable to the other. Japan has need of all her material energies in developing her industries, both at home and in her possessions, in strengthening the finances of her empire, in raising the standard of living of the artisan and laborer so as to bring the comforts of life to the home of the toiler. The United States likewise can find ample outlet for her surplus energies in developing her outlying possessions, cultivating the new fields of trade which the Panama Canal will be sure to open, and in solving the problems of government raised by the reorganization of her industries, by the change from rural to urban life and by the influx of the immigrant.

The only apples of discord suggested, even by those bent upon having a war, are the possession of the Philippines and

the immigration of Japanese laborers into the United States. The latter of these has been settled by treaty in a manner satisfactory to both parties and the conditions brought about by this treaty are such that the question is not likely to be reopened. *Requiescat in pacem.*

As for the possession of the Philippines, there is nothing in it hostile to the interests or aspirations of Japan. Japan has never aspired to the acquisition of territory in the tropics. What she needs is territory which will furnish an overflow ground for her surplus population and territory in the torrid zone will not do this. Furthermore, there is but one condition under which seizure of the Philippines by Japan would be of any use to her, and that is the possession by Japan of a navy superior to that of the United States. And of this the Japanese finances will not permit. Whatever else one may think of the Japanese, no one who has studied their character at all considers them a visionary people. And none but a visionary people would sacrifice their most vital interests to chase after a will-o'-the-wisp which could place but "a barren sceptre in their grasp."

In the language of the *Jiji*, which is the London *Times* of Japan: "As for our country, she has maintained toward America the traditional friendship that is peculiar and apart. Our relations have been exceedingly deep rooted."

Alike reassuring are the words of Count Hayashi, the leading diplomat of Japan: "In this world there are those who try to raise waves on a flat of ground by noising abroad a thing which, as Japanese we cannot even see in our dreams, such as a Japanese-American war." As evidence that this is a sincere expression of the Japanese mind we would cite that, in her treaty of alliance with Great Britain, Japan has agreed to a provision excepting the United States from the list of nations against whom Japan may invoke the aid of her ally in case of war. And although this exception was made in contemplation of the ratification of the general treaty of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain, it is admitted by the leading statesmen of Japan that the exception will hold even though ratification fail.

If, then, the United States possesses nothing which bars

the way to the realization by Japan of her national ideals and Japan possesses nothing half so valuable to the United States as her good-will, and apparently nothing of which we could deprive her except at the price of our self-respect, it is manifest that their interests lie in the direction of peace rather than war. Nor is there any excuse for allowing other nations to artfully stir up discord between them, for which work there is no disposition save by one or two. And in these cases it requires no political seer to discover the motive. Hence to suppose that such transparent deception would succeed requires either a sublime ignorance of human nature or a sublime distrust of the sanity of nations.

If the pending treaties between the United States on the one hand and England and France on the other are ratified, a similar treaty of general arbitration between the United States and Japan would have an excellent moral effect and all true lovers of peace could well rejoice at its ratification. But whether such a treaty is ratified or not, the surest guarantee of peace between Japan and the United States is that neither nation wants war. Given this condition of mind and there are no differences which cannot be harmonized without an appeal to the sword. It is a guarantee of peace regardless of parchments. The utility of the Japanese and American fleets on the Pacific consists therefore not in watching with envious eye the growth of each other or the progress of the nation to which it belongs, but rather in preventing any intruders from disturbing the balance of power in the Pacific.

NOTES AND REVIEWS

Papers on Inter-Racial Problems Communicated to the Universal Races Congress, held at the University of London, July 26-29, 1911. Edited, for the Congress Executive, by G. SPILLER, Honorable Organizer of the Congress. Published for the World Peace Foundation: Ginn and Company, Boston. London: P. S. King and Son, 1911. Pp. xvi, 485.

Record of the Proceedings of the First Universal Races Congress, held at The University of London, July 26-29, 1911. Published for the Executive Council. London: P. S. King and Son, 1911. Pp. 80.

The *Record of Proceedings* and the *Papers on Inter-Racial Problems* indicate that The First Universal Races Congress was unique in more than one way, as the long list of countries, universities, organizations, etc., represented would of itself prove, to say nothing of the actual participants. The fifty-seven papers printed in the volume under review were read by individuals belonging to the following races, nationalities, etc.: African (several varieties) American (red, white, black), Arabian, Austrian, Belgian, Brazilian, Chinese, Dutch, Egyptian, English, French, German, Haitian, Hindu, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Jewish, Norwegian, Persian, Polish, Russian, Scotch, Turkish, Welsh. Their length varies from two to sixteen pages; their subjects from a pious letter of greeting from Abdul Baha Abbas, the head of the Bahai movement in Persia, to a discussion by Professor L. W. Lyde of "the climatic control of skin-color." In the discussions, which took place after some of the papers, other nationalities and races, not represented by the former, took part,—Armenian, Filipino, Finnish, Greek, Liberian, Lithuanian, Maori, Ruthenian. The academic world and the economic and administrative side of affairs seem to have been rather over-represented, while the anthropological experts of high rank were rather few in number (Dr. Franz Boas, from the United States; Prof. F. von Luschan, from Germany; Prof. G. Sergi, from Italy)—in the discussions Prof. A. C. Haddon, of England, and Prof. J. Ranke, of Germany, took part. Although a

lic and private, *Inter-Racial Problems* suffer somewhat from this probably quite unavoidable cause. It would have been well if some distinctly new and significant contribution to the science of man, or to the study of the relationships of men with men, could have been presented to the Congress. Even the paper of Dr. Boas on "The Instability of Human Types" (pp. 99-103) hardly reaches this ideal, and his views as to the skull-changes of the descendants of European immigrants in their new American environment are still running the gauntlet of the fiercest criticism. Professor von Luschan's interesting paper on the "Anthropological View of Race" (pp. 13-24) was decidedly marred by his needless and inexplicable encomium of war,—the inappropriateness of such remarks was recognized by the editor, who induced Dr. von Luschan to let him state in a footnote that he regards the desire for a war between Germany and England as "insane or dastardly." The paper of Dr. J. B. de Lacerda on "The *Métis*, or Half-Breeds of Brazil" (pp. 377-382) would have gained by incorporating some of the very definite examples of distinguished *métis* given, e.g., by A. P. Moreira in his article "Zur Kennzeichnung der Farbigen Brasilens," published in *Globus* (vol. 93, pp. 75-78) for 1909. If a second edition is contemplated, the Bibliography, occupying pages 463-487, ought to be improved here and there, both as to method of classification and as to works included, or rejected—the American Indians suffer most in this respect, perhaps,—the brief list on page 469, e.g., has a number of misprints of a rather serious nature; and how Surinam came to be included under Asia (p. 471) with a single reference to Prince Bonaparte (so old as 1884) is difficult to understand.

The eight sessions of the Congress were devoted to the following topics: Fundamental considerations (anthropological problems), General problems of the conditions of progress (race, miscegenation, position of women, etc.), Special problems of the conditions of progress (reports from various countries, Oriental especially), Special problems in inter-racial economics and peaceful contact between civilizations, The modern conscience and racial questions (general problems), The modern conscience and racial problems (the Negro, the American Indian, etc.), Positive suggestions for promoting inter-racial friendliness (two sessions). It is interesting to note some of the things said at the Congress by individuals who did not belong to the white race. Mrs. Lim Boon Keng, a Chinese woman, said (*Proceedings*, p. 30) that "harmony and concord among races could come only by the co-operation of women; when

women spoke in earnest, men obeyed;" Ex-President Légitime (p. 184) is confident that "Vaudouism, with its drums, its bells, its howling dervishes, its sorcerers and wizards, will disappear from Haiti, just as paganism and druidism disappeared from Europe;" Mr. Inui, of Japan, told (*Proceedings*, p. 40) of the difficulty he met in finding out why European ladies wore veils as an illustration of the way in which false impressions became current; Mr. J. Tengo Jabavu pointed out (p. 339) how much tearing down and how little building up the missionaries and other white men have sometimes done among the African Bantu,—the natives were once temperate in the use of their own beer of little alcoholic strength (prohibited entirely to the young men and the women-folk) but stronger drink came to them through the European; Rev. Mojola Agbebi (p. 341) tells how African peoples naturally look with apprehension on a race in whose wake follow plague, syphilis, cholera and other terrible and strange diseases and epidemics, and declares that the Mohammedan Negroes at least are no "big children," no mere "child-race," as so many white men think; Rev. H. Parata, a Maori of New Zealand, spoke (*Proceedings*, p. 65) as representing a race that "had never been patronized by white people"—here the whites "met a race that were certainly their equals, if not their superiors." Some of the suggestions made by members of the white race for the improvement of other races and the perfection of inter-racial conditions were these: The organizations of a World's Humanity League rather than an Aborigines Protection Society and the establishment of exchange-professors between the Orient and the Occident, by Principal Seal, of Cooch Behar College (p. 13); the extension of work like that of the Batak Institute at Leyden, by Prof. A. W. Nieuwenhuis (p. 359); the abandonment of the fallacy of the claim of western civilization to a monopoly of the capacity of self-government based on an indivisible inter-relation between European descent, Christianity, and the so-called white color, by Sir Charles Bruce, (p. 292); the compilation of a text-book on inter-racial relations for use in all the schools of the world and the institution of chairs of Comparative Ethnography, by Dr. J. B. Lacerda (*Proceedings*, p. 11). Of the proposal of Professor Tönnies (p. 242) to revive Latin, "in a new form," as a universal language, little need be said, for the adoption of Chinese by the rest of mankind, who do not now speak it, would be a more defensible procedure. Dr. Zamenhof's appeal for the adoption of Esperanto (p. 432) will also fall upon deaf ears, for inter-

nationalism and interracialism will demand something more than this limping competitor of modern English.

Among the more interesting and valuable papers may be mentioned, besides those already referred to, the following: "The Problem of Race Equality" (G. Spiller); "Language as a Consolidating and Separating Influence" (D. S. Margoliouth), "Differences in Customs and Morals, and their Resistance to Rapid Change" (G. Sergi), "On the Permanence of Racial Mental Differences" (C. S. Myers), "The Intellectual Standing of Different Races and their Respective Opportunities for Culture" (J. Gray), "East and West India" (G. K. Gokhale), "The Rôle of Russia in the Mutual Approach of the West and the East" (A. Yastchenko), "The Jewish Race" (I. Zangwill), "The Modern Conscience in Relation to the Treatment of Dependent Peoples and Communities" (Sir C. Bruce), "The Influence of Missions" (Rev. A. Caldecott), "The World-Position of the Negro and Negroid" (Sir H. H. Johnston), "The Negro Race in the United States of America" (W. E. B. DuBois), "The North American Indian" (C. A. Eastman), "Ethical Teaching in Schools with Regard to Races" (J. S. Mackenzie), etc. From all the communications to the Congress one catches the same note of departure from the old views as to the "higher" and "lower" races, "the white man's duty" and all that sort of thing; the presence of a new anthropology and a new humanism is everywhere perceptible. Here, ethnologist, historian, economist, sociologist, statesman, missionary, all recognize the unity of mankind and look forward to the great future, when wars and the spoliation of the weaker peoples by the stronger shall be no more; when China, Japan, India and Negro Africa will be as free to contribute to the world's progress and development as once were ancient Greece and Rome; when the dream of a white man's world shall fade away unregretted into the limbo of things men willingly have let die, and the real evolution of man begin with the consenting co-operating and the stimulating genius of all the races of man. Toward that end the First Universal Races Congress will have done much.

ALEXANDER F. CHAMBERLAIN.

The Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia. Being some impressions of the Tanganyika Plateau. By CULLEN GOOLDSBURY and HUBERT SHEANE. Longmans, Green and Company, London: Edward Arnold. 1911. Pp. 360.

The authors of this volume have both spent many years in South Africa in the service of the British South Africa Company. They have lived in intimate contact with the natives and know exactly the conditions of which they speak. Their volume consists in reality of two distinct portions: one, by Mr. Gouldsbury, is a discussion of the general aspect of Northern Rhodesia, and of its relation to foreigners in general, and to the British Government in particular. The other or ethnographic section, by Mr. Sheane, is devoted entirely to the habits and character of the natives. The two sections do not stand separately, but have been dovetailed together by chapters in a way which perhaps adds variety, but which fails to produce the maximum effect because from chapter to chapter ones attention is changed from one phase of the subject to the other.

In general treatment this volume does not differ from many others of the better class of books on foreign countries. The European section opens with a readable account of the discovery of northern Rhodesia and of the very little that we know about its history. After this come interesting chapters dealing with the changes that have been introduced by foreign occupation; the relation of British to native law; the duties of British officials; their yearly travels among the natives; and their diversions in the way of hunting. One of the last chapters takes up the question of missions in a fashion which is sympathetically critical and at the same time appreciative; while the final chapter discusses the possibilities of the future.

The other section is devoted to the ordinary ethnographic subjects beginning with the position of the kings and chiefs, passing from this to native law and punishments, and so on to animism, witchcraft, diseases and native character. The authors are appreciative of the good in the native and they exonerate him from some of the worst charges brought against him. They recognize in him large powers of reasoning, much capacity for abstract and spiritual thought and a good degree of mental receptivity, memory, and zeal for knowledge. On the other hand, they show very clearly the gross superstition and sensuality which prevail. According to their view the lack of sexual control is probably the greatest ele-

ment in preventing children who seem bright and capable from progressing mentally after they reach the age of puberty.

One of the best features of this book is the way in which it puts the life of the native side by side with the influences and changes which follow in the wake of the white man. Apparently the introduction of European rule has been extraordinarily peaceful. No fighting whatever has occurred and the people have submitted almost with pleasure. This is largely the result of their peaceable, placid character. No feature of the book is more noticeable than the frequency with which both authors speak of the peaceful quietness of life in northern Rhodesia. The climate is highly uniform, the means of subsistence can be obtained easily and there is nothing to stir men's minds to great activity. The chief excitements of the natives are petty local quarrels, largely about women. The handful of Europeans, partly officials and partly missionaries, with practically no traders, lead a life of extreme monotony, and yet seem to find a good deal of satisfaction in it. It appears as if the nature of the country had a soothing influence on the human mind. How far this will prevent progress remains to be seen, but it can scarcely fail to be an important factor.

ELLSWORTH HUNTINGTON.

The Story of the Zulus. By J. Y. GIBSON, London, Longmans, 1911, Pp. 338.

What is called the "South African native question" presents one of the most difficult and perplexing problems in all Africa. Often by the application of military force the imposition upon South African natives of European authority carried with it the occupation of native lands, the execution or exile of native kings and chiefs, the slaughter of numerous native peoples, and engendered all the horrors and bitter hatreds of cruel war and invasion.

In the presence of the superior number of the natives one of the re-actions of the political conduct of Europeans in South Africa is that the local government and resident white population seem to be dominated by the psychological influence of a deep social and political fear, which prevents harmony and justice between the races and which consigns the natives to inequality in opportunity and to a fixed and constitutional status of civil and social inferiority.

The Story of the Zulus by Mr. J. Y. Gibson, is important not only because it throws considerable light upon South Africa's greatest social and political problem—the "native question"—but as well

because it tells in excellent literary form the repeated struggles and efforts of one of the bravest Negroid tribes in Africa to retain possession of its own land and country and to prevent its military and political subjugation by an alien race. It is a thrilling but exceedingly sad story.

The term Zulu evidently is derived, as the author says, from the name of the 3rd house of one of the Zulu tribes of which Tshaka was one of the later kings. Sir Harry H. Johnston states in his *Colonization of Africa* that the Abantu tribes came from the north of Africa "under three thousand years ago."

With eleven illustrations, 316 pages and an excellent index, *The Story of the Zulus* has twenty-six very interesting and short chapters. The continuity of the narrative and the brevity of its chapters make it read like some tale in romance or in fiction. The names of the chief actors in the story together with their statements, the dates of important military and political events, the scenes of battles and the territory of tribes, are given and described with such particularity, that there is little room to doubt the correctness and authenticity of what the author offers to his readers as facts. He ventures so seldom beyond the realm of an earnest narrator of occurrences, that his opinions carry the authority and weight which comes only from the most intimate contact with all the essential facts.

In the first chapter he describes the aboriginal customs of the Zulu peoples in the early days with a little stress upon their iron industry. It appears that the Zulus were formerly under a number of independent chiefs. In a few succeeding chapters he sets forth the growth and development of Zulu nationality under the leadership of Dingiswayo, a chief of one of the tribes. In a few more chapters he relates the efforts of Dingiswayo and his successors,—Zwidi, Tshaka, Dingana, Umpande and Cetshwayo,—to maintain their supremacy in tact, disclosing here and there the different plots and intrigues of jealous rivals for the throne.

No sooner than the Zulu tribes were welded together into a common national entity than a strange and new factor was introduced into their political life which ultimately changed their national destiny.

The Boers, weary of British authority as manifested from Cape Town, trekked and pressed upon the Zulus for more and more land which they obtained. Under the fear of a general native uprising the British colonial government extended its jurisdiction to include the new Boer territory because the Boers had been checked in their

territorial expansion and defeated in battle by the bravery and courage of the Zulus in arms. The unsettled land dispute with the Boers was assumed by the British government to be followed by the invasion and subjection of Zululand together with the pathetic exile and imprisonment of its king, Cetshwayo in the Cape Town castle at the coast. In his lonely confinement it must have been some consolation to this royal prisoner to reflect that all along the Undunyeni Hill his subjects were as loyal to him fleeing in defeat and disaster from British fury as were the Scot Highlanders to Prince Charles Stuart seeking refuge in Scottish hills.

But Cetshwayo was permitted to return to his country upon his consent and pledge to carry out a certain British domestic program. Zululand had been divided up into thirteen principalities with chiefs forced unwillingly upon the Zulu people with the addition of a British resident on the ground. The Zulu military organization was destroyed, the Zulu nation as a sovereign power lost in Zululand as a British colony, and the house of Zulu permanently denied participation in Zulu affairs, in the final exile, like Napoleon, of Dinuzulu, son of Cetshwayo, Undabuko and Tshingana, from their country to the cold and barren rocks of St. Helena.

All through the book are many ethnological and social facts concerning the mind, life and character of the Zulus which identify them in the main with the great masses of the African races.

The absence of an outline and headings for the chapters detracts somewhat from the book. *The Story of the Zulus* is not a penetration into African life as *Studies in West Africa* by Mary H. Kingsley; *Native Constitution* by Casely Hayford; *Fanti Customary Law* by John Sarbah; *Fetichism in West Africa* by Dr. Nassau; and three books of Sir A. B. Ellis on the Gold Coast tribes; but it is significant in that it gives the ground facts in a most difficult and complex situation of social interest to the whole world. It is a great and conservative survey of those forces which made the Zulu state, the motives which impelled and the means employed by the British Government to obliterate it. It is not altogether improperly called *The Story of the Zulus*; but to the reviewer its chief merit is and it deserves to be read and remembered more because of its bearing fundamentally upon the grave and trying problems which now confront the South African people, the peaceful and harmonious solution of which mean so much for the happiness and welfare of the white and black peoples of the globe.

GEORGE W. ELLIS.

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